

**Re-engaging  
communities**

SPECIAL FEATURE P18-29



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# H P E not hate

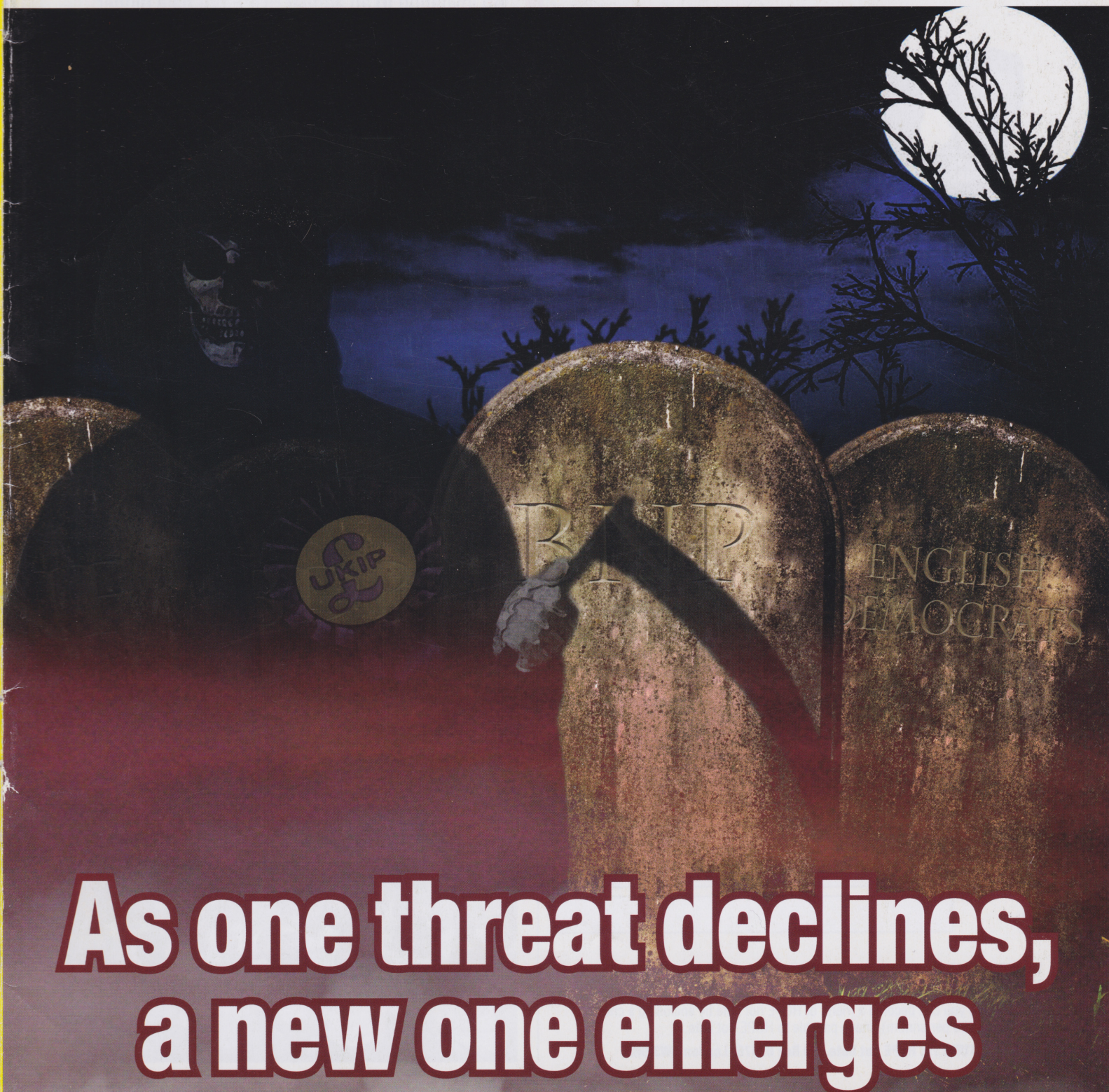
Providing a positive  
antidote to hate and intolerance

May-June 2013

Issue no. 8 Price £3.50.



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**HOPE  
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to combat them.

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## Reassessing our priorities

LATE LAST SUMMER, the HOPE not hate team began an internal discussion as to our future direction. The British National Party (BNP) was in electoral decline and the English Defence League (EDL) was splintering. On the horizon, was UKIP.

HOPE not hate was established in 2004 as a direct response to the electoral rise of the BNP. Breaking with traditional forms of street anti-fascism, our aim was to offer a positive antidote to the politics of hate. We went into communities, localised our campaigns, addressed the issues on which the BNP was exploiting and never shirked from the difficult issues.

The BNP's electoral decline is, I would argue, partly a result of our campaigning. Obviously we are just one of the factors, and the BNP proved to be their own worst enemies, but our consistent, positive and targeted campaigning proved crucial.

Now, with the BNP and EDL in decline, we have begun to reassess the focus of our work. We increased our community work with the aim of building community resilience to extremism and we refocused our research to begin to take on Islamist extremism and the Counter-Jihad movement.

But all the time we knew that we still had to define what we stood for, and not just stood against.

### COMMUNITY WORK

HOPE not hate came out of anti-fascist group called Searchlight, a small team of dedicated researchers who monitored and exposed the activities of fascists and organised racists. But, in 2001, we felt we could not sit back and watch the BNP win council seats and stir up hate in our communities.

Now, with the BNP's decline we are again reassessing our work. Do we continue to just focus on the likes of the BNP and other far right groups,

or do we refocus on our community work with a view to building resilience against extremism? Maybe it is time we branched out and, directly or indirectly, take on UKIP and what they stand for?

In November 2010 we asked our supporters what HOPE not hate meant to them. Almost 1,400 people replied and it was clear that HOPE not hate reflected a set of values they wanted to live their lives by. In this, they were actually ahead of us.

Taking on UKIP would be a huge decision for us and one we will not take lightly. We have already got the views of 2,500 of our supporters, but over the next few weeks we will be holding 50 meetings across the country to discuss our options further.

But there is another dimension to this debate. In this issue we carry several articles about the disengagement of working class communities with the political mainstream. We look at some of the reasons for the rise of the BNP and the economic pessimism and cultural identity crisis that underpinned it.

And so, in the course of our discussions about UKIP we would also like to examine how HOPE not hate, through its community work and political organising, can unite disillusioned and seemingly divided communities. Given that UKIP represent one vision of Britain, both culturally and politically, perhaps we could offer an alternative vision of society that is based on a different set of values which in the process can unite communities.

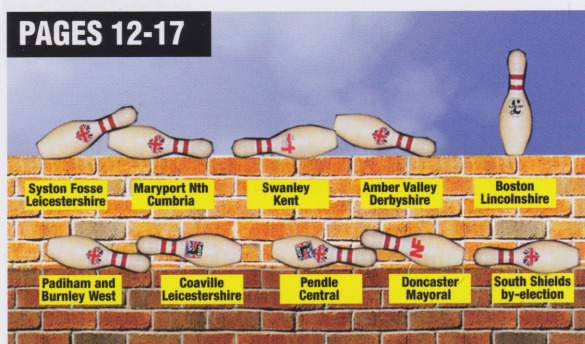
The British political landscape is changing. Please help shape our response.

■ To find out details of the HOPE not hate meetings we are holding around the country, please visit [www.hopenothate.org.uk](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk)



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### NEW CROSS-COMMUNITY INITIATIVE AGAINST ON-STREET GROOMING

#### HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 50,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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**HOPE**  
not hate

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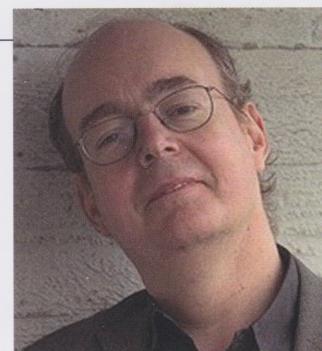
Honouring brave of WW2

## CONTRIBUTORS



### MICK WHELAN

Mick Whelan, General Secretary of the train drivers union ASLEF, explains in the *Guest Column* how education is vital to challenging racist attitudes in society.



### DAVID EDGAR

Playwrite and author, David Edgar, is troubled by David Goodhart's new book, *The British Dream*, which sets out to challenge 'leftwing myths of postwar immigration.



### HARRIS BEIDER

In *Uniting Communities*, HOPE not hate talks to Professor Harris Beider about cohesion, integration and his attempts to unite white working class communities with their Muslim counterparts.



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## US racist speaks at British meeting

ONE OF America's most well-known racists spoke in London in April. Jared Taylor, author of *White Identity* and editor of *American Renaissance*, spoke at a meeting organised by the Bloomsbury Forum in West London.

*American Renaissance* and its associated conference brings together neo-nazis, white supremacists and racial eugenicists. Several British nazis have attended over the years, including Nick Griffin, Adrian Davies and Peter Rushton.

Taylor was in good company at the meeting. The Bloomsbury Forum is a far right discussion club run by barrister, and leading British Democratic Party member, Adrian Davies. He set the group up with the now deceased Jonathan Bowden. It initially brought together the intellectual wing of the far right with the far right of the Conservative Party



(left to right) Mark Cotterill, Peter Rushton, Jared Taylor, Andrew Brons

but over time most of the Conservatives involved have left, with many involved in the BDP.

At the meeting Taylor told the audience Taylor that the USA was no longer a white country, and that white Americans should pursue a separate homeland.

Taylor also met up with Andrew Brons, MEP for Yorkshire and Humber and other assorted racists including Peter Rushton, one of Britain's leading Holocaust deniers who also has links to Nazi groups across Europe and anti-semites in the Middle East.

## London BNP in disarray



ONE OF THE few functioning areas of BNP activity in the UK appears to be in disarray following the sudden resignation by its regional organiser.

Steve Squire (pictured), London BNP organiser, resigned from his post in April with a posting announcing his sudden departure being made on the

BNP website by London BNP secretary Donna Treanor.

As part of the announcement Treanor explained that there was to be an election to decide who would become the new London organiser.

The reason behind Squire's sudden resignation is unclear, but it is thought that Soho sex shop owner Squire is currently undergoing legal and business issues.

What is even stranger was the sudden removal of Treanor's post from the BNP website announcing his resignation.

Was it just wishful thinking on the part of Donna Treanor or has Steve Squire changed his mind? We may never know.

Whatever the reason, London BNP is in a poor state of health and could be on the verge of total collapse.

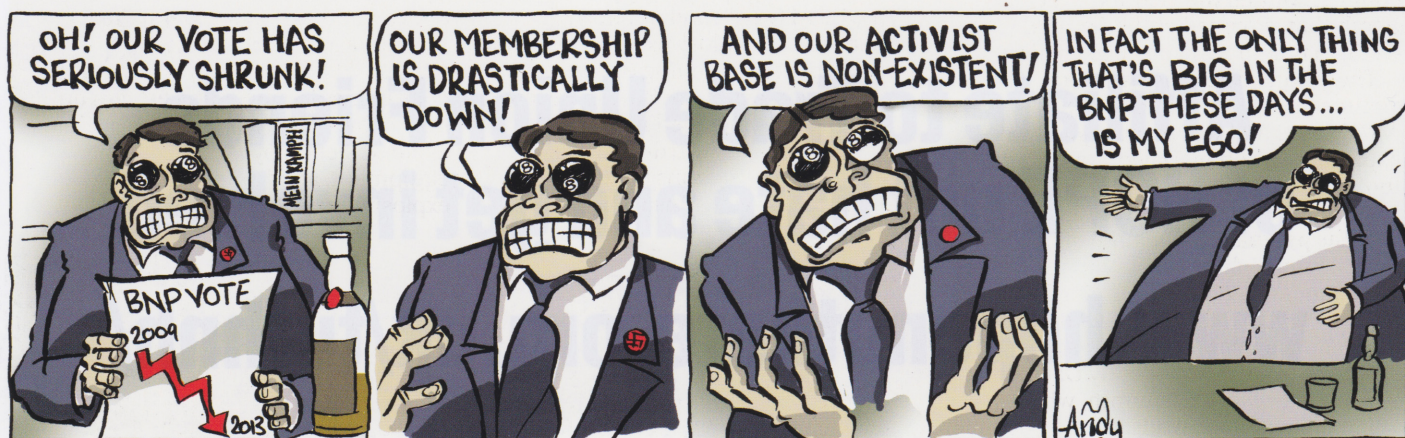
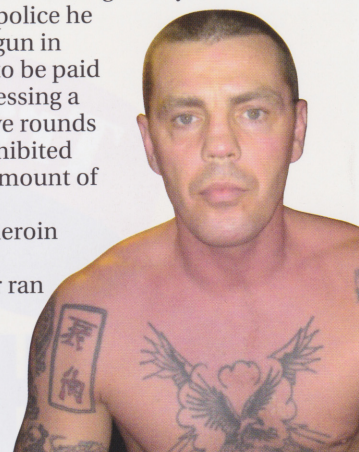
## Former EDL organiser jailed over firearms offence

A FORMER organiser for the English Defence League has been jailed for five years after being found guilty of firearm offences.

Police discovered a Webley pistol, ammunition, CS gas and amphetamines following a raid on the house of Paul Duffy (pictured) in Washington, Tyne and Wear.

Paul Duffy, 47, told police he was looking after the gun in order for a drug debt to be paid off. He admitted possessing a prohibited firearm, live rounds of ammunition, a prohibited weapon and a small amount of amphetamine.

Duffy, a convicted heroin dealer, along with his younger brother Peter ran the North East region for the EDL until a violent split saw the two brothers break away and form the North East Infidels.





## Bradford's Muslim community rally to save Synagogue

BRADFORD'S RELIGIOUS groups are joining together with the hope of saving the city's only synagogue.

Groups such as the Bradford Council for Mosques, along with local businesses, are working together with Bradford District Council to raise much needed funds to preserve the listed building in Manningham which has served the local Jewish population since the 1880s.

Zulfi Karim, secretary of Bradford Council for Mosques, said: "In Bradford we are working hard to bring people of different faiths together, and to support one another as good neighbours.

"We are delighted by the way people have rallied to save the Bradford Synagogue, which is not only a work of art in itself, but represents so much in the way of Bradford's heritage, faith and culture."

The Jewish community grew in Bradford due to the area's textile boom. However, in recent times the Jewish population has declined and due to lack of money the synagogue has been under threat of closure.

Chair of the Bradford Synagogue, Rudi Leavor, said: "The contribution of immigrants to this region has been outstanding, and the current wave has followed in that tradition of mutual help, communal involvement and harmony."



## Soho bomb plaque stolen

A MEMORIAL plaque which commemorated the victims of the nail bomb that exploded at the Admiral Duncan pub in Soho has been stolen.

The plaque listed the names of victims Andrea Dykes, John Light and Nick Moore and was erected after the explosion, set off by David Copeland, took place on 30 April 1999.

Andrea Dykes, 27, who was four months pregnant at the time of her death, John Light, 32, who was the best man at her wedding, and their friend, Nick Moore, 31, were all killed in the bomb attack on the pub. It was one of three nail bomb attacks by David Copeland in the same month, which killed three people, while injuring 80.

## Tiny UK far right groups merge

TWO OF the UK's smaller far right groups have announced a merger.

The English Volunteer Force and the English National Resistance announced last month that they planned to merge into a single organisation, using the English National Resistance name.

The far right group announced that the combined English National Resistance will be run by a 'National Council' of five senior leadership figures.

At the time of press this was still to be announced but it would be likely that the National Council would include Britain First chairman Paul Golding, former East Midlands EDL organiser Tony Curtis and Paul Prodromou, aka Paul Pitt, the former Essex EDL organiser.

The ENR claim in their online release that: "This is a momentous day in the history of our country, a day that will live in the story book of England as the day when English patriots got serious!"

The reality is probably somewhat different.

## Racist killer jailed for 20 years

A MAN high on cocaine has been jailed for a minimum of 20 years for the racially motivated murder of an Asian stranger.

Lee Shaw stabbed Dalbagh Singh Malhi after hurling racial abuse at him in an unprovoked assault after the taxi he ordered drove off without him.

Shaw had been at a party in Bentilee, Staffordshire when he ordered a taxi to take him home after his drink and drug fuelled binge. After the taxi drove off without him Shaw picked a fight with Mr Malhi as he passed by in the street.

After hurling racist abuse Shaw took a kitchen knife he had stolen from the party and stabbed Mr Malhi in the chest, shoulder and neck, with a fatal blow penetrating his heart.

Witnesses said they saw Shaw throw a punch like a boxer's jab and Mr Malhi stumbling and collapsing in the street. One witness heard Mr Malhi shouting: "Help me, help me. I'm dying, somebody stabbed me."

Paramedics attempted to revive Mr Malhi but he died shortly after.

## Luton terrorists planned to bomb Territorial Army base with remote car

FOUR ISLAMIC extremists who planned to bomb a Territorial Army base in Luton by driving a remote-controlled car underneath its gate have been jailed.

Zahid Iqbal, Mohammed Sharfaraz Ahmed, Syed Farhan Hussain and Umar Arshad all pleaded guilty to terror offences in March at Woolwich Crown Court.

All four from Luton were convicted of engaging in conduct in preparation for acts of terrorism.

Iqbal and Ahmed were both sentenced to 11 years and three months, with a five-year extension subject to licence.

Ashad was jailed six years and nine months with Hussain being jailed for five years and three months.

The four were recorded covertly having conversations where they discussed travelling to Pakistan for terror training with the hope of linking up with Al Qaeda and purchasing firearms and explosives. They also took part in physical training exercises held in Snowdonia and the Brecon Beacons.

The group discussed making an improvised explosive device (IED) taking the instructions from the Al Qaeda magazine Inspire.



(Clockwise from top left): Zahid Iqbal, Mohammed Sharfaraz Ahmed, Umar Arshad and Syed Farhan Hussain

When the police searched Zahid Iqbal's house they found a hard drive containing a number of items including a copy of 44 Ways to Support Jihad, by Anwar al-Awlaki, a copy of Inspire, including articles on how to bypass airport security and avoid detection by x-ray scanning equipment, and how to transport explosives in printer cartridges.

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at [www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/) scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Feature: 2013 Election report page 12





## BELGIUM | VB a sinking ship

BY WIM HAELSTERMAN FOR AFF-VERZET/RÉSISTANCES IN BRUSSELS.

EVER SINCE Gerolf Annemans was appointed chairman of the Vlaams Belang (VB) last December, nothing has changed for the nationalist far-right party. Annemans promised a change of style – “edgy but less aggressive” – and a change of political staff. Both moves were supposed to emphasise the new “family friendly” outlook of the party but no new names have been announced.

A new slogan ‘Echt. Onafhankelijk’ (‘Genuine. Independent’) was recently added to the party’s name at the end of a “national conference” that received hardly any attention. The new motto does not signify the end but the start of a so-called “radical renewal operation”. So far, however, it has not met with success. The entire party branch in Niel, a small town near Antwerp, decided to quit the party in response, VB members of the city council being tired of being marginalised.

## BELGIUM | Anti-Semitism high among Belgian Muslim students, says survey

FROM JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY

A MAJOR survey among Belgian teenagers has indicated that anti-semitism is seven times more prevalent among Muslim youths than non-Muslim teenagers. Conducted in recent months by three universities for the Flemish government, the survey published last month was based on questionnaires filled out by 3,867 high school students in Antwerp and Ghent, including 1,068 Muslims.

Among Muslims, 50.9% agreed with the statement that “Jews foment war and blame others for it” compared to only 7.1% among non-Muslims.

Among Muslims, 24.5% said they partially agreed with the statement, as did 20.6% of non-Muslims. The statement “Jews seek to control everything” received a 45.1% approval rating among Muslims compared to 10.8% approval among non-Muslims. Of Muslims, 27.9% said they partially

agreed, as did 29.2% of non-Muslims.

About 35% of Muslims agreed with the statement that “Jews have too much clout in Belgium” compared to 11.8% of non-Muslims who participated in the “Young in Antwerp and Ghent” survey. The results were part of a 360-page report produced for the Flemish government’s Youth Research Platform by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Ghent University and Vrije Universiteit Brussel.



## GERMANY | Nazi network in prisons exposed

FROM MICHAEL KLEIN FOR ANTIFA-NET IN BERLIN

AUTHORITIES IN Hesse have uncovered a network of nazi jailbirds across prisons in several federal states. Using the name AD Jail Crew (14er), one of its organisers is violent racist Bernd Tödter – currently serving a prison sentence – who placed an ad in a bikers’ journal last autumn urging nazis to sign up to the new organisation.

While anti-fascists in Saxony spotted this activity, the government had no idea about the network until a few weeks ago.

The internal security service subscribes to the magazine but ignored the many hints to the clear nazi background, like the code word ‘14er’ or the date of foundation given as 20 April. In 2011, the federal interior minister banned the nazi prisoners’ aid group, the

HNG, which had existed since 1979 but the AD Jail Crew (14er) now seems to want to replace it. It has also tried to contact Beate Zschäpe who is charged with membership in the National Socialist Underground terrorist gang that killed 10 people, robbed fifteen banks and set fire to a building.



AD Jail Crew organiser violent racist Bernd Tödter

## AUSTRIA | Far-right pulverised in Carinthian election

FROM MARTIN JORDAN FOR UNITED IN VIENNA

THE FAR-RIGHT Freedom Party of Carinthia (FPK), the province’s dominant political force, was pulverised in federal state elections there in March. Polling just 16.85 %, the party lost almost two-thirds of its voters and now lines up with the conservatives and Greens, and behind the Social Democrats who got 37.13 %.

The election was called when the state parliament dissolved itself due to corruption scandals. The results look like a real game-changer in Carinthian politics with consequences for September’s national elections. In 2010, the FPK signed a co-operation pact with the party it originally split from, the Freedom Party of Austria





## HUNGARY | Jobbik stages anti-Jewish rally

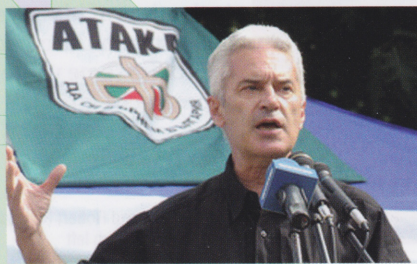
ABOUT 1,000 supporters of the nazi Jobbik party staged an anti-Jewish rally in Budapest on 4 May coinciding with a meeting of the World Jewish Congress in the city. Hungarian premier Viktor Orbán had banned the rally, a move later overturned by a court. According to Jobbik – the third-largest parliamentary party in Hungary, with 43 seats out of 386 and playmates of the BNP – the WJC was holding its assembly in Budapest “to shame the Hungarian people”.

The nazi event, billed as a tribute to “the victims of Bolshevism and Zionism”, heard virulently anti-semitic speeches from top Jobbik bosses Gábor Vona and Márton Gyöngyösi. “The Israeli conquerors, these investors, should look for another country in the

world for themselves because Hungary is not for sale,” Vona told the rally.

After the nazi gathering, Orbán, addressing the WJC, denounced growing anti-semitism in Hungary but stopped short of directly condemning Jobbik. Following Orbán’s speech, a WJC statement said he had failed to “confront the true nature of the problem: the threat posed by the antisemites in general and by the extreme-right Jobbik party in particular”.

“We regret that Mr Orbán did not address any recent anti-semitic or racist incidents in the country, nor did he provide sufficient reassurance that a clear line has been drawn between his government and the far-right fringe,” the statement added.



## BULGARIA | Bulgarian nationalist rejects alliance with former rulers

BY SOFIA NEWS AGENCY

BULGARIAN NATIONALIST Ataka party leader Volen Siderov (pictured) has denied any possibility that his party could form a coalition with the formerly ruling GERB party after elections to be held on 12 May.

Registering his party for the vote, Siderov had hinted that his party might link up with GERB, should the latter “learn the lessons from its rule.” A day later, though, he strongly denied making the suggestion and said reporters had misinterpreted it.

According to Siderov, the GERB and the Socialist Party are the chief culprits for the stagnation Bulgaria has found itself in since the start of transition from communism in 1989.

In recent months, Ataka has been a vociferous critic of the former Bulgarian cabinet, led by GERB leader Boiyko Borisov. After drastic falls in 2012, opinion polls have indicated rising support for Ataka early this year, a period marked by the violent street protests that ousted Borisov from office.



Manfredi Alemanno

## ITALY | Rome mayor’s son in police cover-up

FROM MICHELE ZACCHI IN ROME

TWO ROME policemen are under investigation for covering up a punch-up involving Manfredi Alemanno, the son of the city’s mayor, Gianni Alemanno, on 2 June 2009.

Alemanno, then 14, was at a swimming pool party in Rome’s posh la Camilluccia district when some of those present started praising fascist dictator Mussolini and giving fascist salutes. Others there registered opposition to this behaviour and ordered the Mussolini fans to leave, prompting Alemanno to summon a gang of older fascists to embark on violence.

The brawl over, two police officers, one of them Alemanno father’s chauffeur, helped Alemanno disappear from the scene and then, withholding evidence, knowingly made false statements to police. Alemanno claimed that he had left the party before his thugs went into action, an assertion contradicted by at least two witness statements.

The investigation has so far only touched upon the corrupt police officers, while young Snr Alemanno appears to have got away with it. It apparently helps to have a fascist father who is also the mayor and a fascist grandfather, the late Pino Rauti, a man whose name will be forever linked to some of the most horrific fascist terrorist attacks in Italy during the 1970s and 1980s.

(FPÖ), to form a “common election platform”. FPÖ chief Heinz-Christian Strache agreed to withdraw from Carinthian elections in return for receiving all FPK votes in national elections.

Previously, the FPÖ could count on up to 40% of the Carinthian vote. Controversial FPK leader, Kurt Scheuch, has stepped down but other top FPK figures have, threatening Strache’s “clean start” plan and creating fears of a split that would have cost FPK its status in the state parliament and €900,000 of public funding.



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■ Country in Focus: Sweden page 40





## USA | Conference signals cross alliance efforts with European far right

From Eric O'Neill in Washington DC

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS suggest a strengthening of collaboration between European far right leaders and white nationalists in the United States.

In April, American Renaissance *aka* "AmRen" held its annual conference. Nearly 150 people attended the national gathering which is known for promoting racist pseudo-science, anti-immigrant xenophobia, and for tolerating occasional outburst of public anti-semitism.

Attendance was larger and participants younger than previous years, suggesting the potential entry of a new leadership into the movement in the coming years. Of more concern was the appearance of Fabrice Robert, a former French National Front councillor and founder of the far-right racist group, Bloc Identitaire (BI).

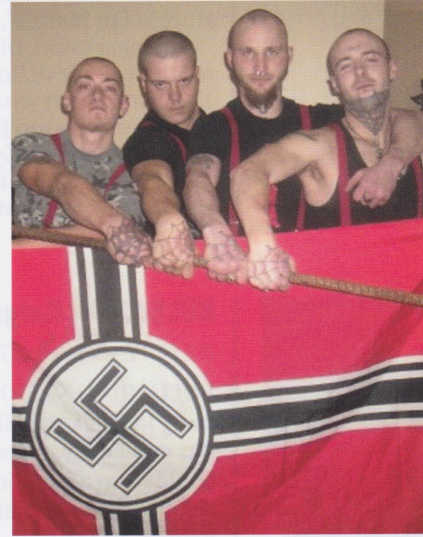
The BI is known for mimicking the hard-core racism of American white nationalism by opposing interracial relationships and promoting the mythology of a European unity based on skin colour. In his speech, Robert accused the French left of using immigration to destroy whites and condemned other far right leaders for being "anti-European".

Robert went on to say: "For us, a black man isn't one of us even if he has lived in France for 30 years." With AmRen leader Jared Taylors' recent speaking tour in Europe and attempts by US racists to learn from far right electoral strategies in Europe, anti-fascists on both sides of the Atlantic would do well to reinforce organisational interactions as well.

## CANADA | White supremacist jailed for life

TYLER STURRUP, a founding member of a white supremacist group in Calgary, was jailed for life in March for the random killing of an ailing man.

Sturup admitted beating Mark Mariani to death. Mariani had been walking down an alleyway, heading for his parked car in October 2010 when he was savagely kicked and stamped on. The 47 year old, seriously ill with Crohn's Disease, was unable to defend himself. Sturup, who had helped found the Western European Bloodline racist group, was arrested seven months later and admitted attacking Mariani for no reason.



A judge, calling the killing cowardly and vicious, ruled that Sturup will not be eligible to apply for parole for 10 years. Robert Reitmeier, 25, was also charged with second-degree murder in the death of Mariani. At the time of his arrest, police said he also had ties to the same white supremacist group. He is set to stand trial later this year.

Tyler Sturup and Robert Reitmeier third and forth from left



(left) Ross 'The Skull' May with the Australian National Socialist Party, and (right) with Pauline Hanson



## AUSTRALIA | Hanson's nazi friend

AUSTRALIA'S MOST notorious nazi, Ross 'The Skull' May, claims that ultra right-wing politician Pauline Hanson supports a white Australia and shares his extremist views. May, who has met Hanson several times and claims she "likes a cuddle", says he will be supporting her bid to be re-elected to the Federal Parliament in September.

Hanson, who was previously embroiled in scandal about links

between her former party, One Nation and the Ku Klux Klan, admits knowing May but says she does not support his racist opinions. 'The Skull', who says he

is proud to be a nazi, is the now-defunct Australian National Socialist Party's most notorious member and in the 1970s ran around shaven headed and dressed in Nazi uniform threatening and assaulting opponents, for which he served several jail terms.

Now a supporter of the fascist Australia First Party, May's loony ideas include blowing refugee boats "out of the water". While Hanson has distanced herself from May, she still says refugees "are a problem for ordinary Australians".



## Guest column...

# Racism goes back to the classroom

by Mick Whelan, general secretary, ASLEF

'Hello Mick,' Matthew Collins said. 'Could you write something for us about uniting the working class? Black and white?'

'Oh, certainly,' I replied. After all, why should I not succeed where other lesser mortals had failed? Yes, junior folk like Marx, Lenin, Mandela or Guevara failed to crack the nut. But now – here comes Whelan!

Class had been on my mind anyway. I was surprised to see recent reports that in our age, 'any talk of class is irrelevant'; but then realised that this opinion was advanced by Jill Kirby, a former director of the Centre for Policy Studies. This is a think-tank set up by Thatcher and Keith Joseph to champion the free market. Have you, like me, noticed that people who tell you there are no longer any classes always come from the bourgeoisie?

Alternatively there was a claim by the BBC that rather than no classes, they have now expanded to seven, ranging from 'elite' to 'precarious proletariat'. The 'traditional working class', we are told, 'have an average age of 66' and are 'not completely deprived'. That's a relief!

So why are such efforts made to deny that there is a working class in this country? Why is it so important? The answer, I am sure, is that if we understand and accept class relations, there is a good chance that we will identify with them. And the last

thing the authorities want is working class solidarity.

It is far better for capitalism to have working people divided among themselves. The ultimate joy of the capitalist is to see workers scrapping. Successful free markets enjoy divided workers and like to see prejudice flourish and bigotry thrive. Racism is a great gift for the greedy.

When the great 'horsemeat in hamburgers' shock horror stories were circulating, I was told a joke about two cows in a field. One said to the other: 'Ruddy horses. Coming over here taking our jobs.'

It is the best sort of joke: it makes you chuckle and cringe at the same time. The fact that the job in question was to be herded into a stall, attacked with a stun-gun, murdered without mercy and chopped into small pieces was irrelevant. The principle was that a British animal could have done that.

Racism, and any other variety of stupid prejudice, is very similar to this story. If working people can be persuaded to disrespect each other, capitalists make some very significant gains. One, wages go down. Two, workforces become more easily manageable. And three, while they are scrapping among themselves, they don't notice the huge profits that the bosses are pocketing from the workers' efforts.

Racism, like any division among workers, is good for business. But it is the most insidious and



immoral of capitalism's tools. It is an insult to us all.

Basically, to be a racist you need to be pretty stupid. This isn't a slogan or an insult. It is a fact. To consider yourself superior or inferior because of a skin tint is not reasonable on any level. Are you a better orator than Barack Obama because he is not white? A better footballer than Didier Drogba because he is black? A better train driver than another because of his or her colour? Are you more intelligent than Nelarine Cornelius, professor and associate dean at Bradford University, on account of your skin colour?

So how is it that working people continue to be racist? The answer is because it feeds upon ignorance. Ignorance of history, like the stories about black workers 'coming over here'. They didn't come, they were fetched. The UK economy wanted a source of cheap labour. Ignorance of psychology, like the

US slave owners who claimed to believe that black people were not intelligent enough to become citizens of that country. Deliberate ignorance, like the caricatures of idleness and sloth in certain races.

Racism will persist until all our citizens have access to education at all levels and until anyone expressing racist sentiments is dismissed as a social pariah. We all have a part to play in this process. We must never let a single racist innuendo go unchallenged.

And eventually the problem will disappear, as we discover that the skin of a person is as irrelevant as their class is important.

Last month our union sponsored the erection of a blue plaque in London to the memory of Frederick Douglass, a man whose life was dedicated to advancing unity, his class and universal suffrage. He once said: 'I would unite with anybody to do right and with nobody to do wrong.'

That's not a bad a starting point, is it?

■ **MICK WHELAN** is the general secretary of Britain's trade union for train drivers ASLEF <http://www.aslef.org.uk>



# UKIP's rise is the BNP's demise

The 2013 County Council elections signalled a dramatic change in the political landscape. It is a change that will have a major influence on the British political system over the next few years and also one which will have huge repercussions for far right. *Nick Lowles* reviews the 2013 local elections.

THE 2013 local elections will be remembered as the year that Britain became a four party state as the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) made a dramatic breakthrough on the electoral scene.

For so long considered a single issue anti-European Union party, UKIP took almost 26% of the vote, gained 139 new councillors and came second in hundreds more.

Within days of the election their impact was being felt as the Coalition Government announced swinging new measures to 'crack down' on immigration and migrants in the Queen's Speech.

UKIP has increasingly adopted a tough anti-immigrant stance and this – coupled with its traditional anti-EU message and an anti-establishment/anti-politics rhetoric – tapped into the anger and discontent of voters.

While the main political parties are pouring over voter data and predictions in order to analyse UKIP's influence at the next general election, UKIP's emergence spells electoral doom for the British far right.

Already in the doldrums, the BNP vote collapsed. The party averaged just 5.5% of the vote in the wards it contested, compared to 11.2% in 2009, the last time there were county council elections. It only managed to stand 104 candidates this year, compared to 461 four years ago.

## Miserable

The BNP suffered most in wards where UKIP was also standing and this seems to confirm the anecdotal evidence that its voters were switching to the more respectable alternative.

The only bright spot in an otherwise miserable election for the BNP was Maryport South, in Cumbria, where the party polled 40% and only just missed out on taking the seat.

While the BNP has been quick to herald this result as proof that it has a



strategy to defeat UKIP, it is kidding no one. The party is in electoral decline and this is unlikely to change for the foreseeable future. While the BNP could well do better in the more working class urban areas, most of which did not have elections this year, the party's vanishing membership will mean that even finding candidates, let alone running campaigns, will be difficult.

Indeed, there were many BNP candidates in these elections who did not put out any campaign material at all.

## Inept

Other far right parties also struggled. The newly-formed British Democratic Party (BDP) claimed to be sitting out the elections on purpose and by standing just three candidates were testing the water. How they think this is a realistic platform with which to contest next year's European Elections, which they admit are vital, is beyond comprehension. A more realistic conclusion is that they were organisationally so inept they simply struggled to find people to stand.

Despite its boast that it has galvanised the bulk of the BNP's former activist base, the BDP appears to be going nowhere.

The English Democratic Party (ED) had a pitiful election campaign, as they too were squeezed by UKIP.

Their lack of real identity and political direction came back to haunt them as their candidates were marginalised everywhere. The party moved to the right in the hope of recruiting a sizeable number of disillusioned BNP members but then continued to a more extreme position by linking up with hardline racists and Nazis in the EDL and its splinter groups. As a consequence it lost many of its more moderate supporters, including Peter Davies, who – until May – was the Mayor of Doncaster.

Davies walked out of the ED earlier this year citing the party's drift to the right. He stood for re-election as an independent but just lost out. The ED stood against Davies and their combined votes would have probably been enough to see him to victory.

With UKIP likely to perform really well in next year's European Elections and then possibly being a decisive factor in the outcome of the 2015 General Election, the electoral prospects for the traditional far right and fascist parties is minimal. Much more likely is that they will increasingly turn their attention to street and community actions, and in the process adopt a more aggressive and extremist stance.

Whether the BNP, BDP or any future far right party will ever make an electoral re-emergence depends largely on the future of UKIP.



# BNP election stats

## 2009 vs 2013



2009  
Candidates

**461**

2009  
Average vote

**11.2%**

2013  
Candidates

**104**

2013  
Average vote

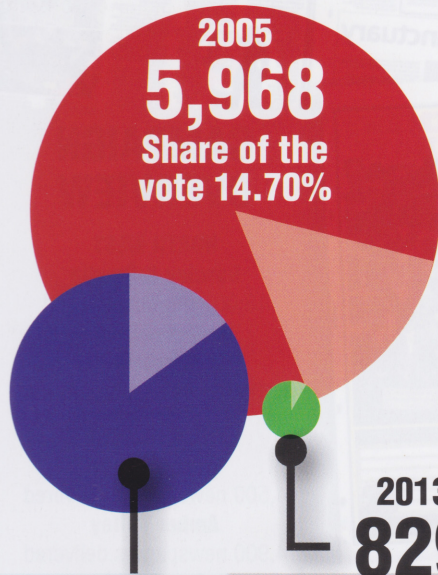
**5.5%**



The  
BNP  
vote

	0-4.99	5-9.99	10-14.99	15-19.99	20-24.99	25-29.99	30-34.99	35-39.99	40+
2009	47	169	145	63	23	11	3	0	0
2013	63	28	7	4	1	0	0	0	1

The vanishing Burnley voter:  
BNP votes in Burnley



The declining  
BNP vote, by  
county

**DERBYSHIRE**

2009 Candidates 16  
Average vote 19.7%

2013 Candidates 4  
Average vote 5.5%

**LEICESTERSHIRE**

2009 Candidates 49  
Average vote 14.9%

2013 Candidates 7  
Average vote 8.6%

**ESSEX**

2009 Candidates 75  
Average vote 9.2%

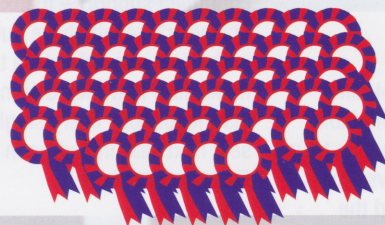
2013 Candidates 14  
Average vote 1.6%



Number of BNP  
Councillors

2009 **55**

2013 **2**



## Who is left?

The BNP have just two councillors left, plus one MEP. All are up in 2014





# Waving Bye Bye to the BNP in 2013

To join the HOPE not hate campaign for the 2014 elections email [matt@hopenothate.org.uk](mailto:matt@hopenothate.org.uk)

**Ruth Smeeth on HOPE not hate's contribution to the electoral demise of the BNP at the May elections.**

HOPE NOT HATE was originally established in 2004 as the national campaign to defeat the BNP at the ballot box. Although we now work to help build communities and defeat racism wherever it may be, our primary goal hasn't changed. In the last 10 election cycles we have worked in every area where the BNP have been active and 2013 was no different.

Our campaign for 2013 started in January and working with HOPE not hate and local anti-fascist groups across the country, more than 100,000 pieces of campaign material were delivered and hundreds of activists gave up their time to make sure that we sent a clear and strong message to the BNP, the newly-established BDP, the National Front and the English Democrats – YOU ARE NOT WELCOME HERE.

Our efforts were focused on Burnley, Pendle, Cumbria, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire and the Mayoral race in Doncaster.

## SUCCESS

In Burnley, the HOPE not hate team was led by the formidable Jason Hunter. Jason and his team put out over 12,000 newspapers and leaflets this year and the result has made all the work worthwhile. For the first time since 2002, Burnley has no elected BNP representatives.

Our other core target area to defeat an incumbent was Doncaster, where the elected mayor, Peter Davies, had been elected in 2009 as an English Democrat. Standing this year as an independent, Davies was going to be a difficult personality to displace and the National

Front had thrown their hat in the ring as well. More than 50 people joined the local HOPE not hate campaign to blanket the city with our positive tabloid and their hard work was reflected in the result. Not only did Davies lose but the National Front got a paltry 1.8% of the vote.

In the Midlands HOPE not hate teams have been out in every area where the BNP had previously done well, with target areas including Heanor in Derbyshire, Charnwood in Leicestershire and Nuneaton in Warwickshire. Small but dedicated teams worked tirelessly to distribute localised materials highlighting why the BNP have nothing positive to offer local communities.

We want to thank you for your support and all our activists who campaigned in all weathers to say Bye-Bye to the BNP. Special thanks must be given to Unison, the NUT and the Daily Mirror for their continued support – thank you. This year's results have put us in the best possible place to make sure that Nick Griffin and his friends lose every single seat next year including in the European Parliament.



## CAMPAIGN OVERVIEW

### NORTH WEST

#### Burnley & Pendle

18,000 newspapers and leaflets delivered

#### Cumbria

12,000 newspapers delivered

### THE MIDLANDS

#### Warwickshire

4,500 newspapers delivered

#### Amber Valley

4,900 newspapers delivered

#### Leicestershire

14,000 newspapers and leaflets delivered

### YORKSHIRE

#### Doncaster

33,000 newspapers delivered

### THE NORTH EAST & BEYOND

#### Durham

3,000 newspapers delivered

#### Beyond

26,000 leaflets delivered in single wards around the country





# BNP cries foul at UKIP's electoral success

**Matthew Collins** looks at the affects of UKIP's success on its more extreme, right-wing rival the BNP.



Talking to himself: Nick Griffin in Maryport.

IF PRIME MINISTER David Cameron is feeling uncomfortable about UKIP's performance at Thursday's County Council elections, spare a thought for Nick Griffin, the leader of the BNP.

The BNP took another electoral drubbing but few people paid much attention to their flailing fortunes this time. Where once the BNP could turn out hundreds of smartly-dressed zombies with clipboards and party literature under their arms, at these elections the BNP's campaign was sporadic, chaotic and mostly absent.

Nick Griffin has weathered death threats from party members, angry and vengeful Loyalist paramilitaries, little old ladies with umbrellas and even the departure of his party's only other MEP, so that his party could still face the electorate.

The party stood more 300 candidates less than at the last county elections in 2009, the year Griffin and the renegade Andrew Brons were elected to the European parliament. Since then, the BNP has suffered factionalism and internal strife that could have come straight from the plot of 'The Sopranos' TV drama.

Griffin is as close to a 'Teflon Don' as

we get in British politics. Fleet Street newspapers have run lurid tales of Nick Griffin and a former glamour model together in a car park eating curry while Griffin's pants were around his ankles. Former party treasurers have gone on television to spill the beans about the party's financial acumen and one treasurer, it is alleged, was even driven to suicide – unable to cope with juggling the BNP's accounts.

These days the party survives on the bequests of former members and supporters. So important to the party is the death of its members they are actively encouraged to sign forms promising to leave their worldly goods to the party should they shuffle off this mortal coil.

Griffin survived a mirror-image splinter party formed earlier this year and even the threatening attentions of the leader of the English Defence League (EDL), who during a social media war of words threatened to give Griffin "a slap". It didn't escape anybody's notice at the time that EDL leader, Stephen Lennon, had a large number of Griffin's former bodyguards at his side.

Threats to the BNP's dominance of the far-right are written off by Griffin and

his aides as part of some "Zionist" plot to discredit the party. Whether any BNP members actually believe this anymore is unclear; they are also inundated with such encomiums detailing their leader's greatness that it would surely even make the North Koreans blush.

Everyone but the BNP leader could see that his party would actually be the biggest victim of the UKIP surge. But even where the BNP was not standing, like Nuneaton Camp Hill, the BNP's vote fell from 30.9% in 2009 to just 9% in 2013.

As the counts were completed on Friday there was another BNP conspiracy on offer. The BNP had actually fought hard in Maryport, Cumbria, where they have a number of full-time employees. Reversing the trend across the country, the BNP polled exceptionally well, over 40% in Maryport South, Cumbria, but not well enough to win. The electorate there were bombarded with BNP literature and anti-BNP literature from the HOPE not hate campaign. The BNP just failed to get over the line, leaving them crestfallen.

According to the BNP there's now another conspiracy. A number of people who said they were going to vote for the BNP in Maryport, did not or could not. The party claims proxy voters did not receive election materials at all, or were rejected. Then there is also an apparent (according to the BNP) problem with postal ballots. The total number of missing votes "could well run into three figures," according to the BNP.

This will of course, in time, be just further evidence of the "Zionist" conspiracy against the BNP. The members will just have to learn to live with it. The BNP promised them victories in Cumbria based on the party's own polling figures there.

The real lesson for them, as my own experience of electioneering for the far-right tells me, is that sometimes voters say they will vote for you just to get you off their doorstep and to piss off and leave them alone.



# Our UKIP dilemma

By Nick Lowles

THE CHANGING political landscape has put HOPE not hate in a dilemma and we are turning to our supporters for their views.

The electoral collapse of the BNP and the dramatic rise of UKIP, driven by an increasingly anti-immigrant stance, has made us question whether we should turn our campaigning focus on UKIP.

In the immediate aftermath of UKIP's strong showing in the Eastleigh by-election, we emailed our supporters asking them whether we should start to take on the anti-EU party.

Over 1,800 people replied.

While almost 70% believed that we should, there were many people who believed that we should just target individual racist candidates and activists rather than the party as a whole.

As a result of this caution we decided to increase our monitoring of UKIP, and in particular its candidates, and review our campaigning options later in the year.

UKIP's success in the County Council elections has made us revisit this decision much earlier than planned. The elections confirmed that UKIP was now the main depository for the racist vote. The BNP vote was down everywhere but even more markedly so in those wards where UKIP were also standing.

A number of UKIP candidates were exposed in the media as former BNP members, racists or just people with thoroughly unpleasant views. While this appeared to do little

to dent the party's electoral chances, it did highlight how racists and Nazis felt perfectly at home within UKIP.

## RHETORIC

Horrible as these racists are, our issue with UKIP is wider and it is largely in what it represents. UKIP is adopting increasingly anti-immigrant rhetoric and is deliberately whipping up the fear of foreigners to win votes.

This poisons the political discourse and gives encouragement to those who want to take a more aggressive position to immigrants.

UKIP literature differs little from that of the BNP, and in some local cases is much worse. Claims of 29 million Bulgarians and Romanians are about to flock to the UK are clearly ridiculous but continued to be repeated by the party in order to whip up fear and win votes. Leaflets comparing the fate of the British to that of the American native Indian are designed to give a cataclysmic vision of the threat of immigration.

Identifying mass immigration as a threat to the very fabric of our country plays well with the UKIP voter. In fact, it is a core driver for the UKIP supporter.

Research shows that UKIP supporters are motivated by opposition to immigration and multiculturalism as much as the European Union.



Added to this, UKIP have now positioned themselves as the anti-establishment party. This combination of issues is common with other radical right populist parties across Western Europe.

## IDENTITY

"Radical right parties mobilise a complex mix of resentments, against immigration and multiculturalism, corrupt and self-serving elites, a liberal popular culture and the lax morals it tolerates, and the decline of national culture and national sovereignty," says Robert Ford. "A growing number of parties across Europe have mobilised this heady, emotive mix of identity, anxiety and intolerance to break through into national political representation, and even into government."

To Ford, UKIP voters are a mixture of "Strategic Eurosceptics", older alienated Conservatives and "Polite xenophobes", who are more economically insecure, working class voters who hold strongly populist views on a range of issues

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- including hostility to immigrants, anxiety about Islam and disaffection with mainstream politics.

Rob Ford estimates that 20% of the British population have views in common with UKIP.

That should be troubling enough but as UKIP's support grows their influence on other political parties will increase. We are already seeing a hardening of their respective anti-immigrant policies and this will only increase with UKIP doing well in next year's European elections.

So, where does that leave HOPE not hate?

While UKIP is certainly not a fascist party and Nigel Farage is definitely not Nick Griffin, the party has much in common with the likes of Geert Wilders' Freedom Party, the Danish People's Party and the True Finns.

And just as we are alarmed by their rise in their respective countries, so we should be alarmed by the rise of UKIP.

Over the next couple of months HOPE not hate is holding dozens of meetings around the country to fully understand the views of our supporters but also to develop a response.

Taking on UKIP, in whatever form, will be a major departure for HOPE not hate. That is why are taking this process slowly and seriously.



# UKIP Scandals

A number of UKIP candidates were exposed for their extremist or unpleasant views during the election campaign. *Simon Cressy* looks at some of them

## ALEX WOOD

(Blackmore Vale – Somerset)  
Photographed giving a Nazi salute and also posing for a photo with a hunting knife clenched between his teeth in front of a Union Jack.

Wood also made online racist comments referring to immigrants living in mud huts and how they want to kill each other. Wood claimed he despised them and that “UKIP would prevent the UK from ending up like Africa or some third world trash can”.

## TONY NIXON

(Guisborough – North Yorks)  
UKIP member and canvasser who was suspended from the party after it was revealed he had posted large numbers of offensive and racist posts on his Facebook page, including sick racist jokes and offensive racist images of US President Barack Obama.

## MARTYN HEALE

(Ramsgate – Kent) UKIP refused to remove Heale from UKIP after finding out that he was once an active member of the National Front. Heale was an organiser for the far-right party in London in the late 1970s.

## ALAN RYALL

(Wickham Market – Suffolk)  
UKIP disowned Ryall after it emerged he was once a member of the BNP.

## PHILLIP ROSE

(Ripley West and Heage ward – Derbyshire) Made anti-gay slurs. Described gay sex as ‘sordid frightfulness’. He wrote on Twitter: “Sure most gay folk will realize they r [SIC] being used by forces of evil in attempt to upset UKIP progress”.



Alex Wood gives a Nazi salute  
(right) with UKIP leader Nigel Farage

## JOHN SULLIVAN,

a UKIP council candidate, claimed that regular physical exercise in schools could “prevent homosexuality” and also applauded Russia for banning gay pride marches in Moscow.

## CHRIS SCOTTON

(Syston Ridgeway – Leicestershire) Scotton was suspended after it was revealed he supported the English Defence League (EDL). Scotton claimed on Facebook he was an EDL activist.

## RICHARD WILKINS

(Newport North – Isle of Wight) Suggested on his Twitter feed that child killer Mick Philpott should have faced “chemical castration” to stop him claiming benefits for more than two children. He also suggested Philpott should be “hung or burned at the stake” and objected to police charges against “3 blokes [who] kill a pedo”, adding “if

they can’t do it we will”.

Wilkins is also currently subject to a police investigation regarding allegations of electoral fraud.

## DAVID WALLER

(Malling Rural East – Kent) Suggested Londoners need to take extreme medical precautions when restrictions on Bulgarian and Romanian immigration are lifted next year, because of the risk of tuberculosis.

## ANNA-MARIA CRAMPTON

(Crowborough – East Sussex) UKIP suspended Crampton over alleged comments blaming Jewish people for the Holocaust. Crampton claimed World War Two was engineered by Zionists hoping to create the state of Israel.

## SUE BOWEN

(Tintagel – Cornwall) Disowned by UKIP after it emerged she was a former member of the British National Party.

## ROB FRASER

(Groby & Ratby – Leicestershire) Censured by Leicestershire County Council in 2011 for using the phrase “nigger in the woodpile” and previously in 2009 for saying Romanians would “stick a knife in you as soon as look at you”.

## JONATHON CHILDS

(East Flegg – Norfolk) UKIP candidate currently under police investigation regarding allegations of electoral fraud.

## LAURENCE KEELEY

(Hailsham and Herstmonceux – East Sussex) Newly-elected UKIP councillor was jailed for dumping pig carcasses in a wood at a beauty spot in 2003. The former butcher was jailed for 31 days after burning pigs’ heads, cows’ lungs and spinal cords.



# The Disconnected

## Why some working class communities turned to the BNP

The BNP might be on the electoral decline but the issues which paved the way for their rise still remain and, with economically difficult times and austerity, are likely to only get worse.

In a special series of articles, HOPE not hate looks at the political disengagement of many white working class people, questions why some began to support the BNP while others did not.

In part two, in the next edition, we will look at possible solutions.





# Understanding the BNP vote

**Nick Lowles examines the factors which lie behind people voting BNP and which mainstream politics has ignored**

IN JUNE 2010 HOPE not hate organised a meeting in Parliament for Labour MPs. Many were in shellshock at their defeat, and more specifically, the hostility they faced on the doorstep. Nationally, the Labour Party was falling over itself to apologise to voters for not understanding the concerns they had over immigration.

But, three years on, few lessons appear to have been learnt. The BNP's collapse in the intervening period has meant that these very same Labour MPs who were so concerned about their rise, now appear not to give it another thought. Life continues on as before and the threat from the BNP appears a distant memory.

Of course, this is a foolhardy position. While the BNP has collapsed, the reasons for their rise remain and, if anything, are likely to grow in the next few years as the country struggles economically and austerity cuts public services and support.

So, what drove support for the BNP?

There are two common assumptions which are often made. Firstly, it is a racist vote and secondly that it is due to economic deprivation. The two, obviously, go hand in hand.

Of course there is an element of truth in this but the explanation is too simple and does not actually fit the facts. It is not always the poorest areas in the country that have seen the biggest BNP vote – study after study shows that concern over immigration is just one of several factors leading people to vote for the BNP.

The answer is more complex. There are regional differences, gender differences, age differences, local factors and even simply whether the BNP was organised.

## EXPLOITED

Explaining the BNP vote is absolutely essential to ensuring

that we – as a society, politicians and campaigners – address the root cause of the problem and not just how it manifests itself politically.

So here is my take on it.

There are economic factors, but there are also cultural factors. Indeed, I would argue that it is when the two are combined that we get the toxic mix that can be so easily exploited by parties like the BNP.

There is a clear correlation between economic deprivation and support for the BNP. While few of the top 10 local authorities (which include Liverpool, Manchester, Tower Hamlets and Hackney) with the greatest concentration of Local Super Output areas within the bottom 10% in the country have had very strong BNP votes (with the exception being Birmingham), several of the next 10 have.

These include Blackburn (ranked 12<sup>th</sup>), Burnley (13), Stoke-on-Trent (16), Bradford (17), Sandwell (18) and Pendle (19).

Barking and Dagenham, where the BNP achieved its greatest electoral success, is ranked the 22<sup>nd</sup> most deprived borough in the UK. According to the local council, full-time salaries are lower than any other authority in London. More than a fifth of working age residents claim at least one type of benefit, compared to the national average of one in seven, and the borough ranks as the ninth highest in the country for child poverty, with 36% of children living below the poverty line.

But economic deprivation is only half the explanation.

Vanishing identity

If we look at the areas where the BNP did particularly well we see another clear correlation. In the 2009 European Election, the BNP received its highest votes in Barking & Dagenham (19.4%), Thurrock (17.5%),

Stoke-on-Trent (17.1%), Burnley (14.5%), Barnsley (16.7%), Rotherham (15.3%), North West Leicestershire (14.5%), Bolsover (14%), Ashfield (13.5%) and South Tyneside (13.0%).

Not only are these areas where there are severe pockets of deprivation, but almost all have seen major industrial decline over the last 20 years and several have been one-industry towns which have never fully recovered from that industry's decline.

They include the former pit villages of South and West Yorkshire and the East Midlands. They include the former steel towns of the North East, South Yorkshire and the West Midlands. They include the declining car industry in Barking and Dagenham, Luton and Nuneaton. And they include the vanishing ceramics workshops in Stoke-on-Trent.

Town and villages that were built up around a single workplace or industry. And when that industry declined, or went altogether, the very identity of the area crumbled.

And this, to me, is one of the fundamental factors in explaining the support of the BNP. Despite the poverty and economic deprivation of inner city London, Liverpool and Manchester, there exists much wider identities and a far greater diversity of local industries. In Barking and Dagenham, where once almost 40,000 people were employed at the Dagenham Fords car plant, the very fabric of the local community cracks when jobs go.

The impact of this concentrated de-industrialisation leads to a crisis of identity and eventually to a cultural backlash against change. Immigration and an emerging multicultural society becomes the themes that groups like the BNP can explain the world and exploit local anger.

This link between economic

pessimism and hostility to immigrants and multiculturalism was also graphically reflected in our own 2011 *Fear and HOPE* survey.

## EFFECTIVE RESPONSE

But this is not the whole story. Virtually all of the areas which experienced economic dislocation were also strong Labour towns and in some cases Labour was the only party represented on the council. The economic decline challenged this political hegemony, with growing numbers of local people no longer viewing the Labour Party as their natural party.

This process quickened in 1997 as Labour sought to occupy the centre ground of British politics in order to win support in the more affluent South East. The BNP refrain that Labour had lost its working class soul and instead it was the BNP that was the Labour Party that their grandfathers had voted for struck a chord.

In fact, the rise of the BNP has to be set in a wider context of a declining electoral turnout in many traditional working class communities and a growing dislike of the political class.

And it is particularly men, and older and less-educated men at that, who vote BNP. Their economic pessimism about the future translates into cultural anxieties about a changing society and open opposition to immigration and multiculturalism.

Understanding why people voted for the BNP is absolutely vital in enabling us to draw up an effective response. And yet, despite the presence of the BNP over so many years, few politicians seem to grasp this. By concentrating solely on immigration they fail to understand the underlining economic anxieties and distrust of the political system. ●



## Re-engaging with working class communities

# Why people voted for the BNP in Stoke

**The BNP may have been firmly chased out of Stoke-on-Trent, but whether the attitudes which saw them elected in the first place have also disappeared is another matter entirely. Dave Porter investigates.**

At the height of its electoral power in Stoke, the BNP could claim nine councillors, leading the national leadership to refer to it as the party's "jewel in the crown". It launched its national election campaign in the city in 2011 but today presents a very different picture.

The BNP were thoroughly routed in the last local elections: all its councillors lost their seats including local leader Michael Coleman, who polled just 299 votes in Meir North. Coleman, who fought and lost the PCC election last November, received a suspended eight-month jail sentence last year for racially aggravated harassment for comments on his blog.

After the 2011 elections – when the BNP mustered just 3.4% of the vote – the party was left in disarray, suffering defections and infighting. Former BNP councillor Ellie Walker, married to former group leader Alby Walker, quit the BNP labelling it "racist". For his part Alby Walker accused the BNP of being made up of Holocaust deniers and those with "Nazi-esque sympathies".

Coleman himself suffered humiliation at the ballot box when he stood in a by-election in July 2011 and polled just 27 votes. He had previously been able to command 24% of the vote in Meir North.

HOPE not hate took to the windswept streets of Bentilee in Stoke to gauge what has changed in people's voting patterns

to mark such a demolition of the BNP vote. A sprawling estate overlooking former coal pits, Bentilee is solid, white working class and until 2011 all three of its councillors were BNP.

A quick walk around the estate shows visible signs of their presence past and present, with Union Jack stickers on bins and St George flags fluttering feebly from windows.

Ask Alan Joinson why he's voted for the BNP and he's quite clear: because they were there for people when no other parties were.



Ellie and former BNP group leader Alby Walker, quit the BNP labelling it "racist".

The chairman of East Bentilee Residents' Association said: "When the BNP first came round people were fed up with Labour and Tory and told them where to go. I did vote BNP at one time, partly because of the influx of foreigners who came in. I don't consider myself prejudiced but people like my grandson, they can't even get a proper job.

"I think people have gone to UKIP now who used to vote BNP. I think they got the picture of the BNP as being thugs or whatever. They lost votes because of that. And also because nothing happened – not a lot changed.

"Bentilee was very, very strong with the BNP. You would get a lot of help with the BNP here. Everyone is disgusted with the local council, and you can still see the old BNP councillors walking round and talking to people. But not a lot changed when they got in, that was the problem."

Another member of the residents' association tells me she can't understand why the BNP lost, saying: "Give them their due, when they were in you could pick the phone up and they would be there. And they would do anything to help you."

There are apocryphal tales of people voting for the BNP simply because they came round and mowed their lawn, but one fact which is certain is that the ward money councillors had to spend has plummeted from £50,000 to just £5,000 per year.



Bentilee councillor Alison Wedgwood sees this as a key reason why the BNP were able to hold such sway over people: they had money to splash around.

She said: "I don't see the BNP coming back. We are aware of the threat but if you stay focussed and do the leafleting on the doorstep, that's what matters.

"Knocking on doors, people still say 'I'm BNP duck'. They will talk about immigration, people coming over here and taking our jobs."

In Bentilee former BNP councillor Steve Batkin admits as much: "People were beginning to think 'the BNP have been in for four years and nothing has changed'. People were asking us to do things and all we could tell them was that the political establishment stopped us."

Back on the streets of Bentilee support and sympathy for the BNP seems strong as ever. What is abundantly clear when you talk to people in Stoke is that in the past they have felt abandoned by mainstream politics and so the BNP were allowed to fill the vacuum left by the main parties. Grassroots activists I spoke to on the ground admitted as much but said their focus was now firmly back on making sure the far right vote isn't resurrected.

"You could talk to them, they were good. When there was a planning issue at the Holly Bush they came and talked to me first. I don't think it's a matter of being racist but a matter of them listening" is





a typical view – candidates were seen as locals who offered something different from town hall cronyism.

One resident tells me: “I voted BNP. I thought what they were offering was a bit more national – I don’t think they have got a racist attitude. I don’t see myself as racist voting for them.”

Another BNP voter echoes his sentiments: “I’m not racist and I don’t think the party’s racist. It’s a party that works with the community. I voted for them because of what they’ve done for the community – they will listen they will fight for us. Everybody you spoke to at one time would be BNP because they did a lot of community work.”

But a different, more complex picture is painted by another Bentilee resident – ‘Darren’ – who sees contradictions in the way people vote and their attitudes in everyday life.

“From what I can gather they’ve still got quite a strong attraction up here. The estate is pure white. It’s very old English, with old English attitudes going back to the ‘60s,” he said.

“Personally I do have trouble persuading some of my Asian friends to come here and visit here – they just won’t do it, I have to visit them. People are dead friendly to you on the estate, but if was an Asian person it might be different. But then they’re quite happy to ring an Asian taxi firm or use the Sikh’s corner shop, they don’t see anything wrong with that.”

Two elderly women I encounter staffing a local charity venture have nothing but praise for the BNP, saying residents like them are the ‘forgotten’ people and talking of an imminent wave of migration from eastern Europe threatening an already crumbling economy.

“I really think we should revolt and let them know how we feel,” says one of the women.

Like most other areas, Bentilee has witnessed an influx of Polish immigrants eager to build a better life for themselves. But, says Len Gibbs, chief executive of EPIC housing group which is based on the estate, there has been no backlash against them.

He said: “They’re hard-working traditional families and don’t represent the threat that others might do.

“The three BNP councillors here were pretty ineffective. I think the BNP was basically a way for people to vent their outrage and disgust at Labour party nationally and locally. The racism issue is secondary.”

Gibbs paints a picture of Bentilee which makes for grim listening and no doubt provides fertile ground for the BNP: 2,500 people on benefits, 19%

of residents are single parents, 14% of homes rented out by private landlords.

Olwen Hamer, Bentilee councillor and former chair of NorSCARF (North Staffs Campaign Against Racism and Fascism), says the swing away from the BNP is due to a focussed campaign by groups such as HOPE not hate, the Labour Party and NorSCARF.

Speaking in a personal capacity, she said: “When we were out there knocking on doors and speaking to people it was not unusual to hear that people often were articulating that they thought services were being targeted towards minority cultures. But then there seemed to come a shift in emphasis and understanding away from that simplistic view. People were starting to ask: what have the BNP done for us? What are they doing about my living environment?”

MP Tristram Hunt has his own views on the collapse of its vote: “It was partly down to supply and demand. The Labour Party stepped up in the 2011 elections and offered a credible alternative on the doorstep. Then there was the organisational and factional collapse of the BNP itself, at both national and local level.

“While the BNP campaigned on things like mending gates and mowing lawns, actually once they were in power their capacity to achieve things was limited.

“But I think the terrain of politics has changed – it changed with Gordon Brown’s ‘bigot’ moment. The question is whether the BNP have the machinery to get the vote out. Whether the vote goes to the EDL is another thing. I certainly think some BNP votes have gone to UKIP and I’m quite happy about that because they are on a journey of responsibility.”

For Bentilee itself, Alison Wedgwood sees hope in the shape of a new academy school spanning both primary and high school pupils which will take in students from a much more diverse background than at present, and which she hopes and believes will slowly lead to a change in attitudes on the estate.

There is a palpable sense of bewilderment in Stoke-on-Trent from ordinary people who either voted BNP or were fellow travellers, a sense that they have been let down twice: firstly by the mainstream parties and secondly by the process of politics itself. Their voices at the ballot box have been lost and many I spoke to don’t see a future for the party anymore in the city.

Whether that disillusionment translates into votes for a party such as UKIP in 2015 remains to be seen. Voting patterns may have changed in Stoke, but outmoded attitudes remain stubbornly in place. ●

# Dudley

**Owen Jones gives a personal account of disenchantment, suspicion and political alienation among people in Dudley**

ON A QUIET weekday morning, I sat down chatting among a group of young mothers on the Wren’s Nest estate in North Dudley. The ensemble seems more attracted to the prospect of free coffee than discussing life in their town, but conversation flows easily as we discuss diets, Spanish holidays and the stress that Christmas brings.

Then out of the blue, a comment flies out about HOPE not hate, as one person explains that it campaigns against the British National Party. For an area which in the past few years had elected the BNP to represent them on the borough council, this was information was met by a surprisingly apathetic air.

“My husband always votes BNP”, explains one. “Well, they’re the party who represents us, aren’t they!”

After I quickly try to explain the contrary, only to be met by a few shrugs, the conversation moves back to the daily problems of modern motherhood.

HOPE not hate has previously reported on the issues affecting race relations in north Dudley, and from a superficial view it would appear tensions between the large white working class community and the tiny immigrant population is predominantly what pushes many towards far-right politics. Posters for the



# discontent

Wrens Nest Estate, Dudley



National Front and British Movement fill the bus stops and line the main roads, with simple but vile headlines such as 'Immigrants Out'. The BNP's winning election campaign was undoubtedly based around the notion that a vote for the nationalists is a vote to remove immigrants from the estate.

However, the more one listens to the thoughts and opinions of residents it slowly emerges that racial tension and targeted hatred towards other ethnic groups are merely visible bubbles on the crust of a wave. The Wren's Nest's *longue durée*, the current which drives this wave, has far more to do with an intense sense of discontentment to do with mainstream politics than inherent racial hatred.

To the outsider, the Wren's Nest estate certainly comes across as a racist area. Although many locals fiercely deny it, and local PCSOs appear blind to it, there is a

general feeling that Asians bring down an area, bring with them crime and destroy social cohesion. Yet these opinions seem born out of acute ignorance, a fear of the unknown and perpetuated by right-wing media, who offer justifications to their reluctance to make any effort to involve other ethnic communities in daily estate life.

It is far more the case that it is the failure of the main political parties that pushes voters to the extremes of nationalist politics.

Many on the estate have a strong distrust towards the main parties, especially the Labour Party who currently represent the area on the local council and in the parliamentary seat. Many feel that the shift by Tony Blair's New Labour left them behind and the party no longer represent them, the true working class.

There is also a significant

belief that the local politicians have nothing to offer and that there is a conspiracy to keep them poor, because by keeping their estate at the foot of the deprivation tables the council can keep applying for multi-million pound grants.

Even when the local MP, Ian Austin, managed to secure funding to rebuild a hugely-dilapidated part of the adjoining Priory estate, which makes up the other half of the ward, it was met with false whispers of a vanity project and a chance for the council to get rid of less desirable tenants and bring in more middle class residents. Although to an outsider these rumours sound obviously dubious and the new houses make a substantial improvement to the area, locals seem to have convinced themselves the world is against them and that any change to their community must surely come

with an ominous catch.

Labour councillors need to address this issue quickly. Instead of peddling the idea that the only way to resolve local issues is by encouraging more residents to attend long-winded community forums, they need to get back to their roots and communicate better to show people Labour cares about their issues and through partnership can work together to improve the area.

Although the BNP and National Front have been dormant in the Wren's Nest in the past few years, it would not take much for another Simon Darby to come along and whip up hysteria in the community and use this discontent for their own putrid political means. Work needs to start now to show the local residents that their opinions are valued by the main parties and the voice of groups like the BNP do nothing to represent them. ●



# The rise and fall of

**2002 - May**

ANL campaign steps up with marches and pickets of Council. Burnley Trades Council commits to campaign until BNP eliminated from town's politics.

**2002 - November**

Coalition against Racism [CAR] formed, with BNP picket at door.



**2003 - April**

first Searchlight tabloid but mainly CAR material circulated.

**2005 - May**

General Election. BNP get 4,003 votes (10.27%). In County Elections same day they contested 5 out of 6 divisions and got 5,968 votes, just 14.7% on a 59.2% turnout.



**2002 - May**

BNP win 3 councillors and 9984 votes across town (25.65%) in all out council elections (turnout over 50%).

**2003 - May**

BNP effectively win Council elections - 8543 votes on 40% turnout, with 35.22% of vote in the 13 of 15 wards contested. Increase to eight councillors and so second largest party on council. Widespread public condemnation after ANL picket of Council results in BNP councillors hit with eggs and flour.



**2001 - April**

first Burnley and Padiham Gazette circulated widely.



**2001 - June**

violent disturbances over several days. Begin as gang war but spread into all out race riots. Griffin and BNP had high profile.

**2003 - June**

Hapton with Park by-election. BNP juggernaut narrowly halted by highly localised campaign by mainstream parties.



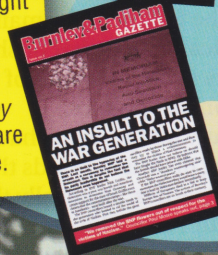
**2001 - May**

Steven Smith, BNP wins 4151 votes, 11.25% in General Election. BNP candidates could not stand in County Council Elections due to forging signatures and Smith later jailed.



**2003 - Summer/Autumn**

BNP councillor bottles fellow BNP member at Red White and Blue. Searchlight breaks story. Councillor stands down and BNP crushed in subsequent by-election. Four Burnley and Padiham Gazette's are delivered to every home.



**2004 - March**

Maureen Stowe resigns from BNP. Searchlight adopts HOPE not hate slogan and begins to push successful 'do-nothing councillors' and 'Burnley's getting better, don't let the BNP wreck it' messages. Over 30,000 HOPE not hate tabloids and several other leaflets distributed by local supporters.

**2004 - June**

BNP only contest eight wards, down from 13, and are reduced to six councillors. Vote down to 4,545 (26.2%). Sharon Wilkinson is elected in Hapton with Park. BNP get 5301 across Burnley (16.66%) in European Elections.



## START

## HOPE not hate (and Searchlight) material distributed in Bu

2002  
20,000

2003  
20,000

2004  
36,500

2005  
31,500

2006  
23,000

2007  
37,500



# the BNP in Burnley



**2006 - May**  
BNP on back foot as election period opened, but lifted by publicity around Margaret Hodge comments. Stood only seven candidates but vote is back up to 29.61%. BNP back up to seven councillors and narrowly miss out on another four. BNP hold all three seats in Hapton with Park.

**2010**  
HOPE not hate able to target just three seats of the ten the BNP contested. HnH circulate five leaflets in all three wards. BNP got 4,619 votes (16.73%) but this was on a high turnout. BNP lose two seats, most significantly in Hapton with Park. In General Election on same day down to 3,747 votes (8.95%).

**2009**  
Euro elections and County Council elections on same day. Although Griffin elected, HOPE not hate saturation sees BNP vote down to 3,500 across the whole town (14.63%). BNP badly beaten in five out of the six County Council wards, but Sharon Wilkinson wins Padiham and Burnley West.

**2007 - February**  
Brunshaw by-election. Strong Lib Dem and Labour campaigns and two HOPE not hate leaflets, the second, issued on the eve of poll, focused on Pendle BNP terrorists and this torpedoed the BNP campaign. The BNP had canvassed every house and put out 13 leaflets, the hardest they ever worked in a ward.

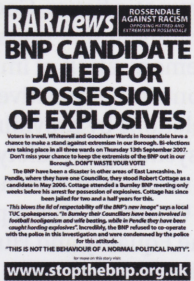
**2008**  
HOPE not hate able to target just six seats of the ten wards the BNP contested. BNP vote down to 3,650 (22.45%) but Sharon Wilkison retains seat in Hapton with Park. HOPE not hate bus visits town.

**2012 - May**  
Sharon Wilkinson loses last BNP seat on Burnley Council.



**2012 - May to 2013 - May**  
Sharon Wilkinson decides not to defend county council seat and the BNP is heavily defeated. BNP even have to draft candidates into Burnley from Preston. Burnley is now a BNP-free zone.

**2007 - May**  
BNP contest ten wards and get 4,232 votes (24.5%). Lose three councillors, so are now down to four on the Council. However, in Rosegrove and Lowerhouse tied with Labour but lose seat on a draw of lots.



**END?**

rnley between 2002 to 2013

2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	TOTAL
31,500	32,556	37,520	33,500	13,600	14,500	331,676



# A dream shattered?

**David Edgar is troubled by elements of a challenge to the 'leftwing myths' of postwar immigration**

LOTS OF PEOPLE get their knuckles rapped in David Goodhart's critical history of postwar immigration, from lazy Somalis and macho African-Caribbeans to inbreeding Pakistanis and standoffish Poles. But the main villains of the piece are people closer to home: idealistic charity workers, 1960s liberal baby boomers and readers of the *Guardian*. In his book, it's two slightly more sinister figures: an unnamed civil service mandarin and a media mogul who met at an Oxford high table. What they all have in common – for Goodhart – is that they feel as great an obligation to the people of Burundi as to those of Birmingham.

Goodhart's battle against the liberal establishment goes back at least to 2004, when he wrote a piece for *Prospect* magazine inspired by David Willetts's theory that welfare states only work in culturally homogenous societies ("To put it bluntly", Goodhart wrote, "most of us prefer our own kind"). Two years later, he expanded his ideas about the need to reinforce national identity in a Demos pamphlet called 'Progressive Nationalism', whose recommendations included banning veiled women from public buildings, probationary citizenship and the reintroduction of a form of National Service. Since the 2010 election he has identified himself in his

Twitter profile and elsewhere as a "post-liberal".

Now Goodhart has expanded his arguments for less immigration and more nationalism into *The British Dream*. In some ways, its tone is more nuanced than the pieces on which it's based: his lists of thanks include a significant sprinkling of leftwing thinkers and activists. However, his primary purpose remains to challenge what he sees as leftwing myths about immigration.

So, contrary to popular belief, immigration on its current British scale is neither inevitable nor common. The first, largely African-Caribbean wave of the late '40s and '50s had "what now seems like extraordinary naive expectations of the mother country".

But although Enoch Powell's 1968 Rivers of Blood speech was significant (not least for making it "slightly indecent" to talk about immigration), the rise of the National Front in the 1970s "often plays too large a part" in the story. The Brixton riots of 1981 exposed the failure of liberal, equal-rights multiculturalism, and the '80s and '90s saw the rise of a new, separatist multiculturalism that encouraged self-segregated ghettos, the most intractable of which are growing more segregated, not less.

The second great wave of immigration (from 1997) was

vastly greater than the first, adding 4 million migrants to the population (of whom, less than a quarter were from the EU), and was the result of a conspiracy between New Labour globalisers wanting to suppress wages and multiculturalists seeking to "rub the right's nose in diversity". And although West Indian immigrants were badly treated in the '50s and '60s ("no dogs, no blacks, no Irish"), racism is no longer the dominant experience of British minorities.

The vastly different outcomes of immigrant groups demonstrate that underperformance is due to cultural factors (like Somali welfare-dependency or Muslim women staying at home) or to "self-inflicted wounds" (African-Caribbean "macho street culture"), and not to "racist Britain blocking the progress of all minorities". On earnings, for instance, "the evidence suggests that the pay gap is small to disappearing for people with the same qualifications".

Many elements of this narrative are questionable. Set against comparable countries, Britain's current immigration level is average: both Germany and France have higher numerical foreign-born populations, and 11 EU countries have immigrant populations which are proportionately higher than ours. It's true that less than half of current immigration comes from the EU, but emigration by non-

EU citizens is higher too. As Goodhart acknowledges, more than 70% of current immigrants stay less than five years, because so many of them are students. The 2011 census indicates that large cities such as Birmingham and Bradford have seen a decrease in segregation for most ethnic groups; in London, the decrease is particularly notable among Bangladeshis.

The argument that racism is greatly exaggerated doesn't really stand up either. The five-fold increase in the number of racist attacks since the early '90s may be partly due to changing definitions, but the absolute 2011-2012 figure of 47,678 racist incidents in England and Wales, of which 35,816 were recorded by the police as race-hate crimes, is a dramatic figure. Goodhart's argument that press demonisation of immigrants contributes positively to race relations by providing "a psychological safety valve" is clearly self-serving.

On pay, a 2008 report to the Equality and Human Rights Commission found that the earnings of Pakistani and Bangladeshi men at the low and middle levels of education were only two thirds of those of similarly qualified white men. On employment, male Chinese graduates are over three-quarters less likely to be employed than their white peers. And while Goodhart acknowledges



'No intelligent person can afford not to read this book.' Trevor Phillips

# THE BRITISH DREAM

SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF POST-WAR IMMIGRATION



DAVID GOODHART

the results of the so-called "CV tests", revealing that employers are less likely to employ applicants with ethnic minority names, he justifies the discrepancy on the grounds that such people might prove "a source of tension and embarrassment" in the workplace, because "people will generally give preference to, and feel more comfortable being around, people they are familiar with". Acting on such attitudes has, of course, been illegal since the passage of the 1968 Race Relations Act.

Trying to stop the passage of that act was the main target of Powell's notorious speech. In Goodhart's description of a subsequent decade "which has gone into radical and minority folklore", there are a number of small but significant errors: the National Front saved their West Bromwich by-election deposit in 1973 not 1976, and although the NF never won a council seat – the break-away National party won two in Blackburn.

But the main absentee is the immigrant community itself. True, Goodhart lists some Asian groups and mentions the 1963 Bristol bus boycott and the 1976 Grunwick picket line (on which he stood). But there is little sense of the role of black and Asian organisations and newspapers in fighting for anti-discrimination legislation and against discriminatory immigration controls, of the influence of

the visits of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, of the industrial struggles by black and Asian workers – often against their own unions – at places such as Courtauld's Red Scar mill in Preston, Standard Telephones and Cables in north London, Mansfield Hosiery Mills in Loughborough and Imperial Typewriters in Leicester. Not surprisingly, Goodhart disregards the role of the Anti-Nazi League and Rock Against Racism in the electoral collapse of the National Front in 1979. He also ignores the role of minority communities in places such as Southall which stood up against invasion by National Front bootboys, and groups like the Bradford 12, whose 1982 acquittal on charges of making explosive devices established the right of communities to defend themselves against attack.

Of course, Goodhart acknowledges the cultural and intellectual contribution of Britain's postwar immigrant communities. But recognising the changes that were brought about not in restaurants or concerts or universities, but in workplaces and on the streets, challenges the notion of a unified national story. Goodhart's insistence that immigrants "must carry the burden of any adaptation that is necessary" raises the question of what is being adapted to. The problem is starkly exposed when he goes on to insist that Muslims

in particular "must adjust to a society dominated by Christian and secular humanist values".

The move from values to culture is one which Goodhart applauds. As he admits, civic Britishness is a "political and institutional identity based on traditions which have disappeared or faded"; accordingly, the distinction between 'civic' and 'ethnic' national identity needs to be blurred. Insisting that exclusion is a necessary part of a meaningful community, the inclusive bits of his alternative ethnic identity seem a bit anodyne: pubs, the NHS, music, film, sport and "parts of the countryside".

By contrast, the exclusions have hardened up since he drew up similar lists previously. An unspecific "two-tier welfare system" for different classes of immigrant is now a two-year qualification period for all benefits (currently, it's

just contributory benefits) and a five-year wait for social housing. What had been a proposed new 'British Liberty Day' celebrating "post-1689 Whiggish Liberal culture" has become a 'Britain Day'. What was once a voluntary National Citizenship Service is now compulsory, along with its "arduous military-run fitness programme". Goodhart no longer calls for a ban on the wearing of veils in schools and public offices, but he still thinks veiled women cause "indirect psychological harm" to those who pass them in the street.

David Goodhart is not exceptional in these views, and some of his ideas – like free English lessons for newcomers – are excellent. But *The British Dream* raises the question as to whether someone who believes in quite so much exclusion and compulsion is any kind of liberal. Not so much "post", you might say, as "anti". ●

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# Uniting comm

**Uniting white working class communities with their non-white counterparts is a major challenge for us all. Dave Porter talks to Professor Harris Beider, who is attempting to do just that.**

**W**HEN Harris Beider invited groups of white and Muslim working class people together to talk about their differences, some might have thought the only outcome would be a combustible one.

And Harris admits that some of the language was “virulent” as the two groups talked about their differences and how they perceived one another.

But he says not one person from the Walthamstow study project he is currently undertaking – on the white side at least – expressed racist views or gave any kind of credence to the views expressed by far right groups.

Harris, professor of community cohesion at the University of Coventry, says: “We got a sample group of residents together and it was the first time they had met each other. We got them to look at their commonalities and their differences and also focussed on grassroots initiatives, and that was really enlightening.

“It was great and they really enjoyed it – they found they had lots of common points on issues. I think they enjoyed the opportunity it gave them to speak to each other for the first time. They were definitely challenging each other on some issues.”

Members of the two communities had previously taken part in separate focus groups to get them to talk about the challenges of integration.

“In terms of the white working class community, out of all the people we interviewed even though they were fairly virulent in terms of some of their views about changes to their neighbourhood, they differentiated between established

communities which they felt had largely integrated and new arrivals from eastern Europe and African countries such as Somalia. There were issues around lack of respect for their norms and customs.

“They also felt really disconnected from institutions and political parties but they do accept that Walthamstow is a multicultural, diverse area. At a personal level they were okay with that but on an institutional level there were some challenges.”

Harris, who is the author of a widely-reported 2001 Joseph Rowntree Foundation report into the marginalised white working class community, says Muslim residents who took part in the project were deeply perceptive about both the problems of integration and the need for effective community leadership.

“They were very critical of leadership within the mosques and in local politics and said they did not represent them – and that women and young people in particular did not have a voice,” he added.

“There was also a clear distinction between a private and a public space within the British Muslim community where interaction takes place, which you don’t get with white working class communities. So you can interact at work and at college and other places but less so at home. And faith and religion was really important in structuring their world view.”

Harris’s project is not just

about opening up a conversation between the two communities but also about looking at practical ways in which they can be brought closer and gain a greater understanding of how they can live side by side. He says both sides were extremely positive about working together in the future and bringing their communities closer.

He said: “There was a white working class woman from White Hill, which is a very poor part of Walthamstow, who is now going to volunteer at an Asian mum’s

group. This was just one example from the project.

“People said that they want there to be a grassroots public initiative where people can come together at an informal level by having, say a festival, incorporating

music and food celebrating diversity. What really needs to happen in Walthamstow and other places like it, people really don’t want the local authorities to get involved.

“They have a healthy scepticism of local politics and community-funded organisations – they see them as gatekeepers rather than gateways. They want to break that monopoly of leadership up and give a voice to other types of people.”

Harris, who has written extensively on race and communities, says one of the touchstones for tension between white working class and other

“ they found they had lots of common points on issues. I think they enjoyed the opportunity it gave them to speak to each other for the first time ”



# unities

communities is housing, both in the private sector and social housing, as he explained: "There is a perception from some groups – wrongly it has to be said – that other groups who have not been here a long time are getting access to housing. If you have 10 Polish guys living in a house next to a family dwelling, that way of living together is very difficult. We need to regulate the private sector in the same way we've done with social housing.

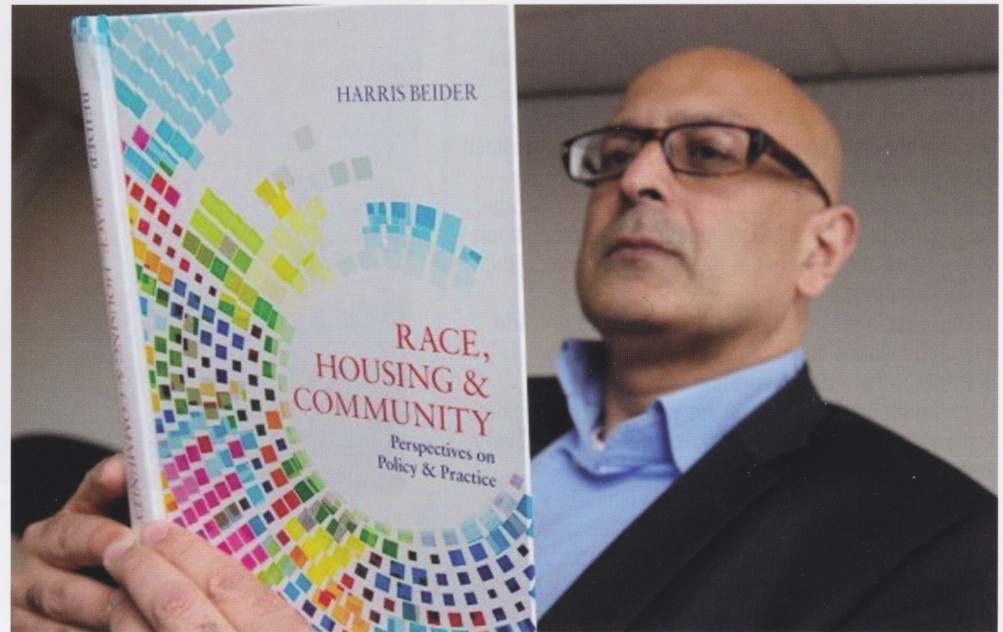
"There is a lack of decent housing and this has an impact on your environment, on your sense of neighbourhood."

One perhaps surprising element to come out of the Walthamstow study is the concept of 'recycled racism' previously highlighted by Harris, where established black and minority ethnic communities can express hostility to new arrivals in the neighbourhood.

Harris said: "There is a widespread assumption that racism is about black and white. But there is increasing competition for scarce resources and established minority communities are going to talk about new arrivals from eastern Europe or Africa, and sometimes that can be racialised. I think racism can be used by different groups and cultures."

Harris says the study has shown that moments of recognition between white working class and British working class Muslims can throw up some surprising pictures of the two communities, both of whom may have thought they had nothing in common.

"White working class communities look upon Muslim communities in a funny way as how their communities used to



Harris Beider, professor of community cohesion at the University of Coventry

be in the 1950, where there was respect and a much greater sense of family life. There is a grudging respect there," he says.

Harris says that the demonisation of the British white working class by the media and the middle class establishment has led to a complete 'disconnect' with political institutions, which can be witnessed in places like Walthamstow. It's a process which has been sparked by a long decline due to the loss of traditional manufacturing employment and wider cultural markers.

"Structures have broken down in white working class communities. Employment has broken down. The study I did in Somers Town for the Rowntree Foundation showed there used to be something like 19 pubs in the area. And it's white working class men who are the problem – women have a role, either as carers in the family or in employment, but it's these men who form the base of the support for parties like the EDL and the BNP."

In his 2011 Joseph Rowntree report, Harris wrote of such working class communities: 'It is important to confound negative stereotypes and understand that people in these communities feel

their voices are not listened to, and that they have no stake in their community. They want to be valued, heard and connected to government.'

He sees a corollary of this in young Pakistani Muslim men who eschew the traditions of their parents and have the same interests as their white working class counterparts. This extends as well as not accepting the 'patronage' of the main political parties who vie for votes of entire communities by making pacts with community leaders.

"They won't follow the path maybe set down by their grandparents. They are going to go in entirely different directions," he says.

In Walthamstow, Harris is looking to build on his research study to produce grassroots projects to help bring communities together.

"We've started discussions about projects which can emerge from this which enable people to come together and meet and plan initiatives. They can be an informal interaction, like the music and food festival, or it can be about growing on leadership in the community," he said. ●



# Seaside outing turns ugly

Matthew Collins

ENGLISH RACISTS and fascists continued their recent tradition of being chased out of the seaside town of Brighton, on the English south coast, during April. The counter-jihad and the traditional far-right have joined together over recent years in a supposed 'March for England', a protest supposedly in support of St George, the English patron saint, demanding greater recognition of the rights and customs of the English peoples within the United Kingdom.

This year, after much online planning and bravado, only 200 fascists could muster themselves down to Brighton for a demonstration that many were planning on using as a cover for violent attacks against antifascists, who have vastly outnumbered them every time they have marched there.

The English Defence League (EDL) leadership shunned the demonstration as part of their ongoing war with some of the organisers of the march and demonstration, though it was noticeable that a number of EDL activists were in Brighton. However, they refused to join up under the 'March for England' banner and instead hid in pubs.

The march barely lasted 400m along Brighton's seafront before the police, drafted in from 11 different police forces, made it turn around for its own safety as thousands of locals and antifascists gathered in protest against it.

The demonstration and rally was addressed by Paul Prodromou, the former EDL organiser who now heads up the rival South East Alliance (SEA) as part of the English National Resistance (ENR) umbrella organisation.

Throughout the day police made a number of arrests, mainly of racists and fascists, for violence and drunken disorder. Many fascists need reminding, still, that Saint George was England's first migrant worker and was born in Turkey.

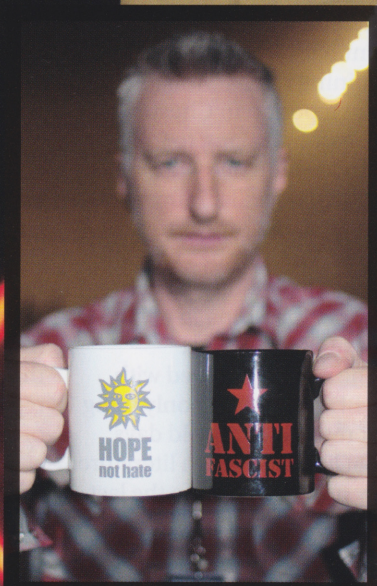




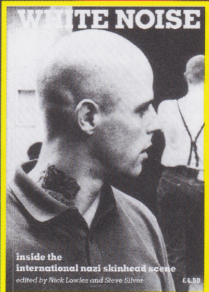
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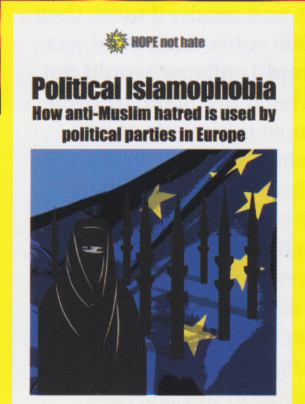
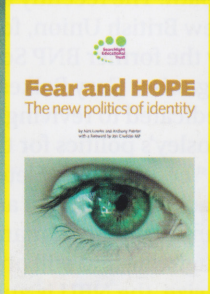
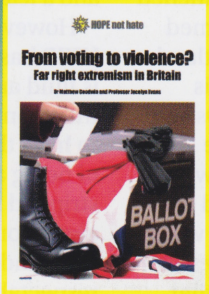
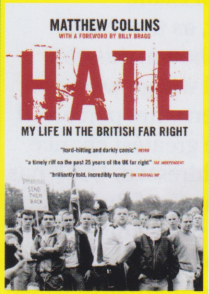
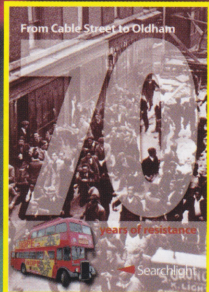
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# Retreating to the Past

As the electoral fortunes of the Far Right decline, *Joe Mulhall* examines a growing number of activists returning to their hardline roots

**T**he far right have often bragged about Britain's uniqueness and as it transpires they were right, only not in the way they had thought. While the far right is on the march in many parts of Europe, in Britain – despite economic turmoil – it finds itself marginalised, shrinking and electorally irrelevant.

Remarkably the recent local elections have seen Burnley follow Dagenham and Stoke in throwing out all its BNP councillors. In 2009 after the party had just won two MEPs and received more than 800,000 votes, such an abject and rapid collapse would not have been predicted by even the most optimistic of anti-fascists.

Before the BNP's collapse some concluded that the far right was fundamentally different from its neo-Nazi and avowedly fascist predecessors. It was said its programme of public moderation transformed part of the movement into a genuinely new form of right-wing phenomenon.

However, the rapid decline of the BNP has seen a splintering which has left the far right in its most fractious state since the pre-NF days in the immediate post-war period. The nature of these new splinter groups severely questions the notion that the BNP's modernisation

was anything more than superficial and skin deep, and has begun to hint at a shift within Britain's far right.

The most prominent group to split away is the much publicised and highly anti-climatic British Democratic Party, led by the former BNP MEP Andrew Brons. Despite the hype they managed to field just three candidates in the recent local elections.

However, despite its slow start the BDP's make-up and public persona is of real interest when attempting to understand current trends on Britain's far right. The respectable pretensions of the BNP are mostly absent and its links to Britain's fascist tradition are being trumpeted rather than hushed up.

The nationalist stalwart John Bean, formerly of Oswald Mosley's Union Movement, AK Chesterton's League of Empire Loyalists (LEL) and founder of the National Labour Party back in 1957, is a celebrated BDP supporter and member of the steering committee. Brons has affectionately described Bean as the "grandfather of British Nationalism" and given him a new blog named 'John Bean's Nationalist Notebook'.

Another big name to become linked to the BDP is Martin Webster, one of Britain's foremost geriatric fascists who along with John

Tyndall led the National Front back in its heyday. Prior to joining the NF Webster spent a period in Chesterton's LEL before leaving to join Colin Jordan's neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement in 1962. A lifelong anti-semitic, Webster has recently turned his prejudiced eye towards the Roma in a blog for the BDP website.

The names involved with the BDP are not the only thing that resembles the old days. What little campaign literature they produced during the last election has more in common with old NF propaganda than the more nuanced and coded propaganda which proved so successful for the BNP. While the BDP might prove to be stillborn there is growing evidence that there is a growing urge for a traditional and openly nationalist party in the wake of the failure of the BNP's moderation programme.

The BDP are not the only splinter group to follow such a path. The recently launched New British Union, formed by the former BNP Scotland organiser Gary Raikes, is dedicated to reviving Oswald Mosley's politics for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, complete with black shirt uniform and arm band. Though in many ways laughable and still only small in size, the NBU is another example of a splinter from the BNP looking backwards

rather than forwards.

Another party set up by disgruntled BNP activists is Patria which fielded just one candidate in the local elections. Run by former BNP member Ian Johnson and chaired by former League of Empire Loyalists and National Front member Denis Whiting, Patria has distanced itself from the moderate policies of the BNP and openly calls for repatriation and deportation of immigrants.

Hence, in the wake of the traditional "old right" politics of the various BNP splinter groups it becomes increasingly hard not to be sceptical about the supposed "transformation" of the BNP into a new type of far right party. No doubt most of the 800,000 people who voted for them in 2009 did not share their traditional "old right" ideals, namely racial nationalism and conspiratorial anti-Semitism. Rather, voters were motivated by other factors such as irrational concerns over immigration and a fear of Islam.

However, as the rise of UKIP has shown, this vote is fluid and will go wherever their concerns are perceived to have the greatest chance of being addressed. UKIP has stripped much of the vote away from the extreme far right and offered a quasi-respectable alternative which lacks the toxic stigma of the BNP. As a result the far right's





chances of reversing its electoral decline is less likely than before.

Groups such as the BDP seem to have realised this and while throwing a cursory glance towards the electorate seem to be concentrating more on attracting the more committed nationalist activists into its ranks by rooting itself firmly in the British fascist tradition. The BDP joins groups such as the New British Union, which in the wake of numerous disasters are looking forwards for inspiration and growth.

Back in 2009, the birth and rapid rise of the EDL resulted in the worrying cocktail of a unified and organised electoral far right and a burgeoning street movement with the ability to politicise and radicalise disenfranchised political virgins. Contrary to what some have argued, the EDL did not fill the vacuum left by a declining BNP but rather served a different purpose and sat alongside

it while the BNP was at its peak.

Due to its concerns being cultural rather than racial the EDL was also painted by some as a new political phenomenon distinct from the far right tradition. But the EDL has followed the BNP into decline and fragmentation. Recent demos are a far cry from the heady heydays when they could attract thousands of demonstrators to cities such as Bradford, Leicester and Luton.

At its peak EDL demos were attended by a broad church which ranged from traditional racial nationalists from groups such as the NF and former C18 members, right through to people genuinely just concerned about radical Islam.

However, they have since fractured and most of the splinter groups have jettisoned cultural concerns and fallen into bed with the 'old right'. The North West and North East Infidels are deeply linked to the National

Front and the South East Alliance is now in bed with the BNP. The infidels leader John 'Snowy' Shaw entered the EDL as a political virgin and now openly promotes the *Protocols of Zion* and has formed links with the UDA. (In other words a very traditional fascist). What remains of the EDL is a tiny rump and even that is split between out and out racists and a tiny number of counter-jihad ideologues.

In addition, the collapse of the BNP and the EDL has benefited far-right organisations such as the NF who never climbed aboard the good ship respectability but instead sat on the fringes, jealous of the BNP's success but unwilling to copy its superficial moderation.

There are also increasingly strong links between the NF and groups such as the Racial Volunteer Force who marched with them at last year's Remembrance Sunday parade. And the dormant and extreme British

Movement has shown increasing signs of life with the re-emergence of online and street-based activity. This year has seen the BM and its youth wing – known as Young Wolf – attending NF demos. While these groups are tiny an increase in activity is noticeable which has occurred simultaneously with the failure of the BNP's modernisation and moderation project.

Those who claimed the BNP and EDL were genuinely new political phenomena on the far-right must now explain why so many activists who abandoned them have reverted back to traditional far right politics. As UKIP increasingly captures the anti-immigration vote, a shift back to traditional and more extreme nationalist politics is evident. In reality the far-right's moderation was superficial and on its failure one can almost hear the sigh of relief as former BNP members remove their moderate muzzles. ●



# “With every action there is a reaction”

## Six men plead guilty to plotting to bomb EDL demo

By Nick Lowles

SIX MEN from Birmingham pleaded guilty last month to planning to bomb an EDL demo in Dewsbury last June. Armed with a bomb, two shotguns, knives and a machete, they went to attack the EDL demo in “a direct retaliation of [the EDLs] insulting of the Prophet Muhammad”.

While the bomb was rudimentary, the men travelled up to Dewsbury to kill and main. They even wrote letters to the Queen and David Cameron explaining their actions. “We love death more than your life ... it is of the greatest honour for us to do what we did.”

They only failed in their bid because they arrived in Dewsbury after the EDL demonstration had finished. They were only caught because one of their cars was uninsured. The weapons were only discovered two days later when the staff at the car compound decided to search the car.

HOPE not hate totally condemned these actions and sent out an email its supporters to that effect. We did so because we believed that this murderous attempt to silence their opponents was both unacceptable and counter-productive.

Alongside the victims of the bomb, it would have been their fellow Muslims who would have suffered most. Dewsbury is a multi-ethnic town and a bomb packed with nails could just as likely have injured local Muslims as it did the EDL supporters they were targeting. And what about the repercussions if they had carried out the attack? Muslim communities across the country could well have been targeted



(top row)  
Omar Khan,  
Jewel Uddin,  
Mohammed Hasseen  
(bottom row)  
Anzal Hussain,  
Mohammed Saud,  
Zohaib Ahmed.

for revenge attacks. Some might have fought back and then the problems would have only been compounded in a tit-for-tat cycle of violence.

But perhaps this is what these men wanted.

Police say they all attended the Darul Ihsaan gym in Birmingham with two of them working there. The cavernous two-storey building off Baker Street sits among terrace housing in the heart of Sparkhill, an inner city area with a large Kashmiri population. It does not play music, bans women and offers halal body-building supplements.

The gym has become a focal point for other Islamist terrorists. In February, Irfan Naseer was convicted of plotting a suicide bombing campaign. He met two of his fellow co-conspirators at the same gym.

While there is nothing to indicate that the gym is anything more than a meeting point for these extremists, a posting on an

extremist website in 2011 claimed the gym was “full of wanabee mujahideen [holy warriors]” who committed “credit card and insurance fraud and other despicable acts”.

It also emerged during the trial that one of the group was under “low level” surveillance by the security services because of suspected involvement on the fringes of another terrorist plot. Another had already served a prison sentence after being convicted of possession of terrorist material from the internet.

Counter terrorism detectives knew nothing about the plot when the men set off for Dewsbury and say they were simply not “on the radar”, with no evidence linking the group to Pakistan or al-Qaida. However, one of the convicted men had researched bomb making from the *Inspire*, an online magazine produced by al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula which is



pushed on internet forums to would-be terrorists.

The cell is, in the police's view, an example of so-called "home-grown terrorists".

In addition to their own immediate objectives, a likely consequence of their actions would have been to spark further violence.

We saw it with David Copeland, the London nail bomber. He planted three bombs in 1999 in the hope of sparking a race war and eventually the election of a BNP government. We saw it with Anders Breivik, who killed 77 people in Norway in 2011, in the hope of awakening Western Europeans to the threat of Islam before it was too late.

But this case also highlights the clear symbiotic relationship between supposedly opposing extremisms.

"With every action there is a reaction", the six men wrote in their confession letter. They were reacting directly to the actions of the EDL.

This is not the first time a potentially violent or inflammatory action has been caused by the actions of an opposing extremism. In 2010 the burning of poppies by Muslims Against Crusades on the streets of London later led to a former soldier in Carlisle burning a copy of the Koran. The publicity about his actions was picked up by Al Qaeda supporters in Pakistan and, according to investigators, Carlisle was discussed as a potential target for attack.

A rabidly anti-Muslim speech by the Sikh EDL supporter Guramit Singh in Peterborough led directly to Al-Muhajiroun supporters in Luton producing a leaflet calling for the conversion of Sikh girls ahead of an EDL demo in the town.

Last Autumn, we saw the violent

reaction around the world to the disgusting anti-Muslim film, the Innocence of Muslims, produced by hardline Islamophobes. While many Muslims would have felt insulted by the film, Islamist extremist groups lost no time in using it to whip up anti-Western, anti-Christian and anti-semitic hatred to justify their own world view.

And let us not forget that the EDL was itself set up as a result of a tiny Al-Muhajiroun protest against a British Army homecoming parade in 2009.

Jihadist and anti-Jihadist extremists are locked in a cycle of tit-for-tat threats and violence. While claiming to stand diametrically opposed to the Other, they need and use the actions of the Other to justify their own existence.

In 2010 a senior officer with the West Midlands Counter-Terrorism Unit told the BBC that the actions of the EDL were pushing young Muslims into the hands of Al Qaeda-supporting groups. So much for the EDL acting as a barrier to Islamist extremism.

We need to break this cycle of violence and publicly denounce both the violent Islamists and the Muslim haters of the EDL. We need to unite all communities against this extremism and not be selective in our targets.

The EDL has attempted to present themselves as the innocent victims of Islamist terrorists. But this is wrong as they are part of the problem.

We must unequivocally denounce these six men for their murderous intent and the cycle of violence their actions, if successful, would have triggered. But we must also look at the wider symbiotic relationship between extremism and to that end, we must clearly state: A Plague on Both Their Houses.

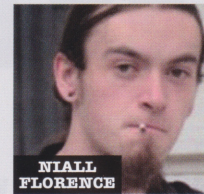
## Convicted Islamist terrorists in 2013

### January 2013:

Craig Slee (Preston) was convicted for four offences under the 2006 Terrorism Act at Preston Crown Court and jailed for five years. Slee set up a Facebook account to upload terrorist propaganda, including pictures of beheadings.



CRAIG SLEE



NIALL FLORENCE

### February 2013:

Niall Florence (Burnley) was convicted at the Old Bailey for collecting and distributing information which could be useful in terrorism, including an Al Qaeda manual and two editions of the Anarchist's Cookbook. Sentenced to 18 months suspended for two years.

**March 2013:** Norman Idris Faridi (Cardiff) was jailed for nine months for possessing information likely to be useful to a terrorist. He will be deported to Kenya on his release.

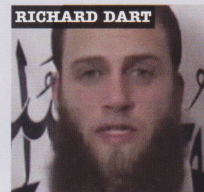
**April 2013:** Eleven men from Birmingham were convicted at Woolwich Crown Court for plotting a terrorist campaign, which included setting off eight rucksack bombs and other devices in crowded places. The group had links to Al Qaeda.

The men, Irfan Naseer, Irfan Khalid, Ashik Ali, Rahin Ahmed, Mujahid Hussain, Ishaq Hussain, Shahid Khan, Naweed Ali, Khobaib Hussain, Bahader Ali and Mohammed Rizwan were jailed with sentences ranging from 40 months to life.



IRFAN KHALID, ASHIK ALI AND IRFAN NASEER

**April 2013:** Old Bailey Khalid Baqa (Barking) was convicted after being found with more than 300 computer discs of terrorist material. He was jailed for two years.



RICHARD DART

### April 2013:

Old Bailey. Three men were convicted for plotting to bomb Royal Wootton Bassett. Richard Dart (Ealing), Jahangir Alom (Stratford), Imran Mahmood (Northolt) were jailed for between six and nine years.

Dart was allegedly radicalised by Anjem Choudary.

**April 2013:** Zahid Iqbal, Mohammed Sharfaraz Ahmed, Umar Arshad, Syed Farhan Hussain, all from Luton, were convicted at Woolwich Crown Court for plotting to bomb a TA centre using remote-controlled car. They were jailed for between five and 11 years.

**April 2013:** Six men from Birmingham convicted of attempting to bomb an EDL demonstration. Will be sentenced in June.



# Out on the road again

**He was the diminutive Danish neo-Nazi who in 1997 was part of a Combat 18 terror plot to maim or kill British celebrities. But now Thomas Nakaba is leading a new life as a biker gang enforcer. *Matthew Collins* investigates**

Nakaba, or John Wayne Jensen, as he is known today

(right)  
Thomas Nakaba  
on a Danish nazi  
demonstration in  
1995.





AT 9.30AM on 17 January, 1997, Thomas Nakaba left his apartment with his partner and their baby to board the train to Copenhagen. Anna had rung the college where Nakaba was doing a construction course to say that he was ill. They sat there in silence, both knowing what lay ahead.

At Copenhagen station they said their goodbyes with a long embrace. He told her that he would be back before midnight, if not she knew what to do.

Off he went to the shops and over the next hour bought everything he needed. He met up with his two co-conspirators and began putting video tape

members of C18 in a street brawl Copenhagen in 1995.

The letter bombs never reached their target. Nakaba had been trailed throughout this period as a result of a joint investigation by British and Danish intelligence. When Danish police went to arrest him, Nakaba shot a police officer, later claiming in his defence that he had mistaken the police officer for a 'red'.

He received eight years for his part in the plot.

In 2001 Nakaba was on leave from prison when there was an attempt on his life, which police described as an assassination attempt. Nakaba, then 30, was stabbed and described as a "Nazi pig"

a 31-year-old man from a rival biker gang was clubbed, beaten with a sledgehammer and run over. Rumours circulated that there had been a war between the rival and notorious biker gangs, but the police quickly quashed the rumour. The murder bid was the culmination of a brutal war waged, not by the Hells Angels, but by Nakaba and a small group of his associates in an apparent attempt to extinguish the Bandidos entirely.

Nakaba had in fact begun his new life as a biker by joining the Baniddos while in prison. After the 2001 attempt on his life, Thomas swapped the swastika for the Banidos "yellow Mexican" logo. Some said it was because Nakaba feared his Nazi friends could no longer protect him from anti-fascists who had made it clear that they were behind the attempt on his life. Some said Danish Nazis had shunned Nakaba, claiming he was too dangerous a person to know. Others said it was because he was still searching for a sense of belonging and that motorcycle gangs had no qualms about somebody's race as long as they were useful to the business of violence.

Nakaba most definitely fitted that bill and, furthermore, his neo-Nazi tattoos would not look out of place among all the other weird paraphernalia bike gangs notorious across Scandinavia collect. He was at one time known as 'Thomas Hitler'.

Being a notorious personality and prepared to shoot a police officer made Nakaba an interesting addition for biker gangs. In 2005 he created headlines across Denmark when he pulled up outside a High Court riding a Harley Davidson motorcycle in full Bandidos regalia and bounced into a trial involving a biker gang charged with assault. Even then, a convicted and notorious individual in his own right, the Danish media still made

much of Nakaba's height as he rode alongside his fellow bikers. Even when he was waging a bloody internecine bikers' war, he was still referred to as the Nazi letter bomber.

In 2008, Nakaba, the Bandidos 'Secretary for War' made a bid for the leadership of a multi-million pound crime syndicate across Scandinavia. Senior members had raised concerns that his practices were too violent even for a notorious biker gang. The Bandidos ousted Nakaba and began a two-month war across Denmark where Nakaba was no longer the confused neo-Nazi who could be duped by the nasty neo-Nazis from England. He had a reputation for – among other things – clipping off the fingers of people who refused to pay debts. He waged a terrifying war of violence that threatened to drag the entire Scandinavian biker gang and drugs scene down.

After two months of bloodletting, Nakaba turned up as one of the leaders of a rival Hells Angels gang to continue his feud with the Bandidos, bringing a private army of "soldiers".

In March this year the gang was finally convicted, not for the attempted assassination of a rival biker, but for a series of burglaries. The fallout from this led to the assassination for which none of them were convicted.

Nakaba is back in prison again. His few years of freedom were violent: he led a team of bikers hellbent on controlling the lucrative Scandinavian biker scene. His personal and loyal army robbed, burgled and bludgeoned their way into the headlines and into the 'Vestre Fængsel' a notorious Danish prison where the gang all now sit as probationary members of the Hells Angels.

After sentencing, the newspapers still referred to John Wayne Jensen as the diminutive would be Nazi-bomber with the Japanese name.



bombs together, following instructions given to him by Will Browning, leader of the British nazi group, Combat 18.

Nakaba had been keen to impress. Not only small in size, his surname belied his Japanese heritage. He also had a half-sister of Pakistani origin. A former member of the avowedly violent and neo-Nazi Danish National Socialist Movement (DNSB), Nakaba had a surplus of baggage that made him stand out among his colleagues and seemed to force him to undertake the most dangerous and violent of activities. He had quit the "lame" DNSB after meeting

by three assailants who left him for dead in a street in broad daylight.

Fast forward to July 2011 and Nakaba is in trouble again. This time, he was no longer known as Thomas Nakaba, but as John Wayne Jensen, a hybrid name of an American movie star who made films about the US's war against the Japanese, topped off with the far more Danish sounding Jensen. Nakaba was arrested in a police swoop after the attempted murder of a member of the Bandidos motorcycle gang in Lyngbyvej, Denmark.

Nakaba was a member of the rival Hells Angels when



# Guillem Agulló and Yolanda González: fascist crimes go unpunished in Spain

From Sandra Cortés in València for [www.antifeixistes.org](http://www.antifeixistes.org)

11 APRIL, marked the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the murder of Guillem Agulló, a young anti-fascist from València. Only one of the four people involved in his killing, Pedro Cuevas, has been jailed. Sentenced to 16 years in prison, he only served four.

In 2005, Cuevas was again arrested for belonging to a nazi gang named Frente Antisistema (Anti-system Front) that sold weapons and terrorised and intimidated immigrants and left-wingers. After a month in jail awaiting trial, he was released and – eight years on! – a trial date has still not been set. Members of the fascist España2000 party, including a current councillor in Silla (València), Alejandro Serrador, were also active in the same gang.

In 2007, Guillem's murderer stood for election as a candidate for the nazi Alianza Nacional (AN) party, sparking a scandal in which all Spain's mainstream parties, except the conservative Popular Party (PP), demanded that the AN be outlawed.

In Spain, laws regulating political parties have been employed to ban Basque separatist political parties and organisations such as Batasuna – which have been accused of being part of ETA – but have never been applied to extreme right-wing parties like the AN, despite them having in their ranks members who have been convicted of murder and other serious crimes.

On 13 April in Burjassot,



Commemoration in València

Agulló's home village, fascists tried to attack a memorial demonstration and concert attended by more than 2,000 people. One of those involved in the incident was Alejandro Hernandez Folgado, the representative of España2000's youth group in the village.

This party recently vilified the village's left-wing mayor for refusing permission to distribute propaganda material. The mayor, Jordi Sebastia, is an investigative journalist who, during the 1990s, penned many articles about the Valencian far-right, zeroing in on nazi groups around José Luís Roberto, the current president of España2000.

Sebastia has in the past been threatened and has denounced such threats on Facebook in court. Those accused of making

threats include España2000 provocateur Alejandro Hernández Folgado, one of the thugs who tried to attack the Guillem commemoration. Making the right's attitude even more scandalous, José Manuel Molins, a representative of the PP in Burjassot, caused a row on Twitter by justifying Guillem's murder. The resulting scandal forced him to close his account but his party has not apologised for the slur.

The United Left party, supported by the social democratic PSOE and the left separatist Compromís, has now formally proposed to the Valencian parliament that Guillem Agulló should receive official recognition as a victim of fascist terror.

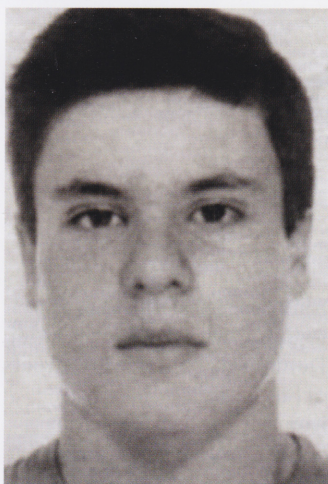
València is a Spanish province that has suffered more fascist terrorism than most. Since 2007, more than

20 bomb attacks against NGOs, political parties and social centres have been made but remain unsolved. As a result, progressive and anti-racist organisations have now created a "platform against impunity" and decided to expose hate crimes, give counsel to victims and bring their demands to the Spanish parliament and the European Union.

In April, there were numerous acts of remembrance for Guillem Agulló, his death having become a symbol of the fight against fascism for a new generation demanding punishment of fascist crimes.

A further example of the apparent impunity for violent and murderous right-wing extremists that has shocked the Spanish society was the public reappearance





Guillem Agulló

of the murderer of Yolanda Gonzalez, a 19-year-old student socialist activist kidnapped and murdered by a fascist hit squad in 1980.

Her murderers, members of the Francoist Fuerza Nueva, were tried and convicted. All except one: the main culprit, Emilio Hellin, who bolted to South America. Earlier this year, the newspaper *El País* revealed that Hellin works for the police and the Spanish secret services in telecommunication systems and espionage. This news rocked Spain and opposition political parties are calling the government to act.

In Madrid, the 13 April event commemorated both Guillem Agulló and Yolanda Gonzalez and included the reading of a letter from Guillem's family and friends dedicated to Yolanda and showing the unity of the anti-fascist struggle.

Spain still has many scores to settle with the past, not least with the ongoing legacy of Francoism that remains embedded in state institutions which survives thanks to the revisionist version of history assiduously peddled by prime minister Mariano Rajoy's PP.

Many experts now agree that the PP's attitude to the past and its harsh immigration policies are the main reasons for the fact that fascists in Spain have no seats in the national parliament and are not able to capitalise on the small numbers who bother to vote for them. ●

# Continuity by far exceeds change

Reviewed by Jean-Yves Camus

## The Populist Radical Right in Poland. The Patriots.

by Rafal Pankowski

Routledge, 2011. ISBN 978-0-415-50051-7  
£26.60 paperback version

THE *EXTREMISM and Democracy* series published by Routledge is essential for anyone looking for innovative and scholarly yet accessible studies about lesser-known aspects of contemporary totalitarian ideologies, most notably the extreme right.

When it comes to the Polish variety, Rafal Pankowski is undoubtedly the best-qualified expert, both because he is teaching at Collegium Civitas in Warsaw and because of his impressive work as editor of the anti-fascist, anti-racist magazine, *Nigdy Wiecej* (Never Again).

Today, the Polish extreme right is a pale shadow of its former self, polling about 1% of the vote, but the League of Polish Families (LPR) and the Agrarian Populist Samoobrona (Self-Defense) did hit headlines when briefly part of a coalition government headed by Jaroslav Kaczynski, leader of the mainstream Conservative Party, Law and Justice. As for Radio Maryja, it is one of the very few examples in Europe of a Catholic media having dared bypass the instructions of the Vatican hierarchy in order to continue disseminating its antisemitic, fundamentalist message.

Pankowski's book enables the reader to understand the roots of those movements in Polish history since the 19th century. It also explains why Communism did not eradicate exclusive nationalism, even giving birth to a strange brand of both ideologies: the pre-War National-Radical, proto-fascist leader Boleslaw Piasecki continued his career as leader of the Stalinist regime's puppet Pax Association and eventually played hand in hand with the nationalist, so-called "partisan" faction of the Communist Party, united by a fierce "anti-cosmopolitanism" that led to the 1968-1969 purges and slanderous campaigns against Jewish Communists and Polish Jews as a whole.

Pankowski's book is invaluable in providing clues to the nature and extent of the connections between pre-war and contemporary nationalism in Poland and shows that continuity by far exceeds change.

In the first part of the book, he draws a picture of the four major trends in Polish pre-1939 nationalism: Pilsudski's authoritarian but civic nationalism; Piasecki's; Jan Stachniuk's lesser-known totalitarian paganism and Roman

## The Populist Radical Right in Poland

The patriots

Rafal Pankowski



Extremism and Democracy

Dmowski's ethno-nationalism embodied in the antisemitic doctrine of the so-called "Endeks", whose heritage lies in the LPR but also left an imprint on the mainstream Right.

His second part about the more complex relationship between the Communist Party and exclusive nationalism then proceeds to look at the heterogeneous ideological trends that composed the Solidarity movement.

Underlining the national-populist, sometimes even Catholic Conservative currents within Solidarity, Pankowski echoes the heated debates that arose in 1980-81 among those who supported and helped it from abroad, and he points to the fact that the dissident movement led Poland to Kaczynski's Law and Justice, much more than to Adam Michnik's liberal Left ideas.

Subsequent chapters of the book offer a thoroughly researched and enlightening approach to the nationalist LPR and the radical populist but now defunct Self-Defence party, both of which both achieved parliamentary representation and briefly participated in government in 2005-2007.

This coalition cabinet existed because, Pankowski argues, the dominant Law and Justice party had large nationalist and authoritarian tendencies and, albeit in a more moderate manner, shared its extremist allies' belief that Polishness equates with Catholicism and exclusive ethnicism.

The author concludes that while LPR and Self-Defence are now marginalised, the impact of the illiberal ideas of Law and Justice or Radio Maryja will remain a significant factor in the country's politics.

Pankowski's book is a must read for all serious scholars of the extreme-right and anti-fascist militants everywhere. ●



# SWEDEN Sweden Democrats crisis boosts nazis

THE FAR-RIGHT Sweden Democrats (SD) have now been in parliament for three years. In the polls, the party stands at around 8% – compared with the 5.7 % it got in the 2010 elections – and its future looks bright. However, the party has internal problems and a factional war raging over ideological differences and power.

The rise of the SD in Swedish politics and its entry into the parliamentary arena for the first time in 2010 has also opened up ground for more extreme right-wing outfits like the nazi Party of Swedes (SvP), formerly the National Socialist Front.

Though the Swedish Democrats won 20 seats in parliament in 2010, what really made history was that 102 people in the tiny community of Grästorp in western Sweden voted in SvP leader Daniel Höglund, the

first nazi to be elected since the 1940s. The headline in one newspaper, *Göteborgs Tidningen*, was “Shame in Grästorp”.

Though Höglund subsequently lost his seat because he did not actually live in the community, the SvP has gained seats on other councils because SD defectors and other far-right politicians have joined the party. In Mönsterås, for example, SD politician Anders Leander decamped to the nazis in 2012. His former party colleague Bernhard Ek has said he will cooperate with Leander. However, the SD is studiously ignoring the fact that a party councillor and a nazi are working side by side.

In Hedemora, Sven-Olov Karlsson quit the SD for the SvP saying: “I have not taken any stand on the Jews yet. I don't know if they have done anything bad, but if they have

then damn them.”

In 2013, two other local Sweden Democrats stated that they were considering moving over to the SvP. Mikael Höglund in Upplands-Bro claims the “Jews pull the strings and control the White House”, while Stig-Erik Werner in Tidaholm was kicked out of the SD after attending a nazi demonstration against a mosque in Gothenburg in 2011. (A representative from English Defence League called ‘Ronnie England’ was also present.)

In the SD, a battle royal is raging about ideology and control of the party. The leadership under party leader Jimmie Åkesson has enforced a ‘zero tolerance’ line against ‘racism and extremism’, but this does not seem apply to the top.

At the end of 2012, a video showed SD MPs, Erik

Almqvist and Kent Ekeröth together with another Sweden Democrats walking the streets of Stockholm armed with iron bars. Almqvist made racist comments to famous Swedish comedian Soran Ismail and called a woman a “whore”. Ekeröth pushed another woman and filmed his “lad's night out”. Almqvist had to quit parliament after the scandal but Ekeröth was allowed to stay in both the party and parliament.

The SD's much-vaunted zero tolerance was used when a local politician published an anti-Muslim propaganda film on a local web homepage for the party. The movie claimed Muslims will take control over the West by giving birth to more children than non-Muslims. She said Muslims should be allowed only to give birth to one baby and was duly was kicked out of the SD. However, Ekeröth has

## SWEDEN KEY FACTS

### Parties

The only far right party with national relevance is the **Sweden Democrats**. Formed 1988, its first leader was Anders Klarström whose background was in the nazi Nordiska Rikspartiet (Nordic National Party).

Party leader since 2005: Jimmie Åkesson (pictured)

Membership: 8,000 approx

2010 National Election: 5.7% (20 of 349 seats)

2009 European Parliament 3.7% (No seats won)

Newspaper: *SD-kuriren* and the closely affiliated blog *Avpixlat*.

Youth organisation: Sweden Democrats Youth

### Other far-right parties and organisations

**The Party of Swedes** (Svenskarnas parti), formerly National Socialist Front and the People's Front. Openly nazi, its leader is Stefan Jacobsson. In 1999, party members murdered two policemen after a bank robbery.

**National Democrats** (Nationaldemokraterna), an ethnopluralist and racist party formed after split with the Sweden Democrats 2002 and led by convicted criminal Marc Abramsson. It has links to the BNP and the Jobbik.

**Swedish Resistance Movement** (Svenska motståndsrörelsen – SMR), a violent nazi

organisation co-led by convicted killer and terrorist Klas Lund.

**Nordic Youth** (Nordisk Ungdom), a nazi ethnopluralist “action group” led by Patrick Forsen.

**Nordic National Socialists** (Nordiska nationalsocialister), militant openly Hitlerite organisation founded in 2009.

**The coalition of National Youth** (Förbundet Nationell ungdom), nazi youth organisation with close ties to the Party of Swedes.

**The Free Press Society**, an anti-Muslim and racist organisation claiming to defend press freedom.

### Violence

■ 5,493 hate crimes recorded by Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention in 2011.

■ 28 January 2012: SMR members attacked an anti-racist meeting in Falun and hit a politician over the head with a bottle.

■ 21 March 2012: activist in the



Swedish Resistance Movement jailed for murder outside Stockholm. Another still on the run accused of same murder.

### Media

The National Democrats' tabloid paper **Nationell Idag** is the only far-right newspaper receiving cash support from the state –1,679,000 SEK [£168,834] yearly.

**Avpixlat** is a major racist blog close to the Sweden Democrats which uses the Sweden Democrat MP, Kent Ekeröth's bank account for donations.







published exactly the same video on his blog without adverse consequences.

In March a conflict erupted between the more hardline nationalists in the party, the so-called "traditionalists", and the leadership. The Swedish anti-fascist magazine *Expo* obtained internal documents revealing the party had started moves to throw out its strong man in Gothenburg and western Sweden, Patrik Ehn.

Ehn was accused of being an ideological dissident, of having links with the German nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) and of promoting the German radical nationalist author Ernst Jünger at the SD's youth congress.

Many of the charges against him were hardly new. His contacts with the NPD were reported years ago in the media but another reason the

party leadership decided to expel him was the disclosure of a message from another party member signed "Heil"? Hitler", to which Ehn had replied "Hail Strasser" (this mail also was already well known). The SD leadership desperately wanted to get rid of Ehn before the party convention at which the candidates' list to the parliament election is drawn up.

Ehn got unanimous

support from the SD in the west region of Swedish and in Gothenburg but was thrown out together with his political secretary Daniel Rondslätt. Ehn has had support from the SD's youth organisation and, in Gothenburg, one local politician walked out in protest while the leader of the council group in Mölndal warned that more of his colleagues have threatened to resign.



**Fria Tider** (Free Times) is a racist blog used as source by the Sweden Democrats and the far right.

**Dispatch International** is a racist Counter Jihad newspaper run by Ingrid Carlqvist and Danish counter-jihadist Lars Hedegaard of the Free Press Society.

**Framåt** (forward) is the paper of the nazi Party of Swedes.

**Realisten**, The Party of Swedes' webnews

**Nya Tider** (New Times) A new racist newspaper founded after a split with Nationell Idag.

## MAP

**Gothenburg:** March 2013 – The Sweden Democrats sack leading member Patrik Ehn over nazi past.

**Stockholm:** November 2012 – A video from 2010 is published in Expressen showing Sweden Democrats MPs dishing out racial abuse.

**Stockholm:** August 2012 – Counter Jihad meeting with Pamela Geller, Tommy Robinson, Kevin Carroll Paul Weston of British Freedom party.

**Grästorp:** 2010 – Nazi leader Daniel Höglund elected to the local council.

**Mönsterås:** 2011 – Sweden Democrat politician Anders Leander joins the nazi Party of Swedes.

**Hedemora:** 2012 – Sweden Democrat politician Lars-Erik Karlsson joins the Party of Swedes.

**Eskestuna:** 1 May 2012 – Party of Swedes in violent demonstration with many arrests.

**Malmö:** October 2012 – Big protests at Free Press Society meeting hosting Dutch Islamophobe Geert Wilders. Present was "Fjordman" who inspired Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik.

**Bollnäs:** August 2012 – an anti-racist demonstration forced to change date after threats from the violent nazi SMR. Later SMR staged its own demonstration in Bollnäs

**Stockholm:** December 2011 – United nazi demonstration outside the Swedish parliament. BNP chief Nick Griffin attended and branded Swedish MPs "criminals and traitors".





# Blood & Honour

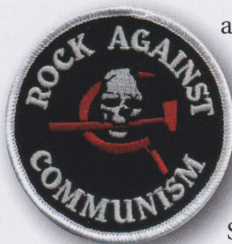
FOR OVER 25 years Blood and Honour, the neo-Nazi music network, has regularly hosted far right concerts the length and breadth of Britain.

Formed in 1987, Blood and Honour's origins lay initially with the creation of Rock Against Communism (RAC) in 1977 as a way of redressing the Anti-Nazi League's successful Rock Against Racism campaign.

In the early '80s the National Front (NF) tried to draw the white power music scene into its orbit through the formation of the White Noise Club and holding a number of concerts at the home of Nick Griffin's father.

However, the bands eventually felt ripped off by this arrangement and split from the NF. In 1987 Blood and Honour was formed, taking the name from the motto of the Hitler Youth, Blut und Ehre.

In May 1989 Donaldson and Skrewdriver attempted to organise a show of strength but their planned Main Event concert in London descended into farce and embarrassment



as anti-fascists ran them ragged.

Life became so difficult in London for Blood and Honour's main figure, Ian Stuart Donaldson (ISD), lead singer of

Skrewdriver, that he moved to Heanor in the East Midlands. B&H was independent of the BNP and NF, though many around Donaldson were members of the British Movement.

Donaldson died in a car crash in 1993. His death meant the end of the band Skrewdriver and the unravelling of B&H.



## Blood & Honour



(MAIN IMAGE)  
IAN STUART  
DONALDSON AND  
SKREWDRIVER  
(LEFT) C18  
LEADERS WILL  
BROWNING AND  
CHARLIE SARGENT

### CURRENT BLOOD AND HONOUR BANDS



GENTLEMAN THUGS

#### Whitelaw:

Nottinghamshire-based band led by veteran British Movement activist and East Midlands BH organiser Benny Bullman

**March or Die:** Originate from the York area and include Irishman Coffey 'Coz' McGuffog, husband of Yorkshire organiser Jules McGuffog

**Blackout:** Welsh band originally formed in the '90s by singer David Brinley Braddon (who also plays for Brutal Attack) and who was jailed in 2010 for dog fighting.

**Waredigeath:** Swansea-based Hillbilly band which recently allowed two men dressed in KKK





Almost immediately afterwards, control of B&H was seized by Combat 18, first by Charlie Sargent and then, a couple of years later, by Will Browning. C18 set up ISD records and during the late 1990s made approximately £200,000 from the production and sale of white power CDs.

C18 infighting saw the emergence of a parallel B&H structure and with the eventual demise of C18 this new leadership, who had been around for some time, took full control. The BNP began to muscle themselves in again, sensing a funding opportunity, but its emerging electoral focus ended that.

Today's Blood and Honour largely consists of the same group who took over from C18. The Racial Volunteer Force, in collaboration with the National Front, has organised the odd gig but these are smaller and more militant affairs.

Blood & Honour is more of a social and cultural network than a political group, though some activists are also members of more hardline racist and nazi organisations.

Gigs continue to be held across the country, though the only really active B&H divisions these days are London, Yorkshire, North West, West Midlands and Kent.



LEGION OF ST GEORGE AND SECTION 88

outfits to carry out a mock lynching onstage.

**Section 88:** Originally formed in 1993 in the South London/North Kent area.

**Brutal Attack:** One of the original and biggest bands on the Blood & Honour roster. Singer Ken McLellan also appears as a solo act.

**Legion Of St George:** West London band who feature veteran West London organiser Simon Dutton on vocals.

**Gentleman Thugs:** Formed in early 2012 and features members

from Section 88, Whitelaw, and March or Die

**Nemesis:** Only playing infrequently, Nemesis from Scotland includes the veteran Scottish Nazi John Cartwright.

**Hearts of Oak:** Featuring members from different groups this band is unusual as the lead singer is female.

**Woden:** Originally named Eye of Odin, this south-east London band is the only National Socialist metal band currently on the BH roster.

**Avalon:** From Coventry, singer Graham Thompson recently angered Polish record label Strong Survive along with other BH divisions for non-payment of debts.

## KEY PEOPLE

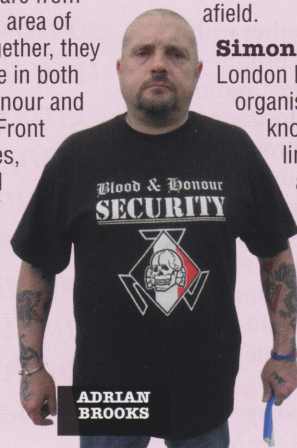


**Jules McGuffog:** Yorkshire Blood and Honour organiser Jules

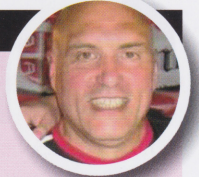
McGuffog is from the Clifton area of York and one of the few women at the front of the movement. Married to Irishman Coffey 'Coz' McGuffog, who in 2011 pleaded guilty to causing death while driving without a licence and obtaining insurance by deception.

**Adrian Brooks:** Brooks is the North West organiser and plays a key role in security at various concerts. From the Stockport area, he is now a key member of the British Movement after spells in the National Front, White Nationalist Party and Nationalist Alliance.

**The Powell Twins:** Identical twins Bryan and David Powell are from the Morriston area of Swansea. Together, they play a key role in both Blood and Honour and The National Front in South Wales, having helped organise the recent White Pride demonstration and Blood and Honour gig in Swansea in March.



ADRIAN BROOKS



**Steve Swinfen:**

Seen as the De facto leader of Blood and Honour, the Northamptonshire-based lorry driver has been involved with Blood and Honour for many years. Swinfen is known to have strong international links, especially Hungary, and was recently photographed meeting Blood and Honour activists in Serbia.

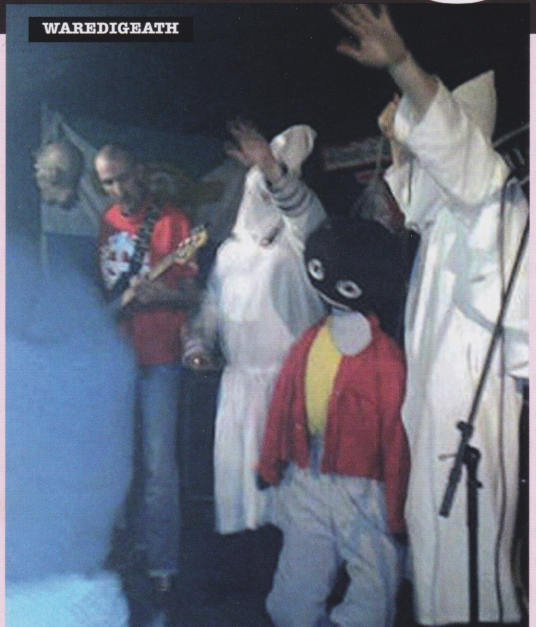
**Mark 'Benny' Bullman:**

East Midlands organiser, Nottinghamshire-based Bullman is the veteran singer with Whitelaw and is also known for his links with the British Movement. Whitelaw is one of the bigger names on the Blood and Honour roster and is regularly invited to play concerts in Europe and further afield.

**Simon Dutton:** West London Blood and Honour organiser Dutton is another known for his previous links with Combat 18 and the BNP. Dutton is the vocalist in Blood and Honour regulars The Legion of St George.



## WAREDIGEATH





# Community protection

**Dave Porter** on the formation of a new cross-community initiative against on-street grooming

RECENT high-profile cases involving vulnerable teenage girls being groomed on the street by gangs of men have pointed to a real challenge for the communities where it happens.

How to react to such a vile crime and how to prevent it happening again are just two of the most obvious questions people ask themselves, whether they are parents, community leaders or the authorities.



HOPE not hate together with the Islamic Society of Britain – and other national organisations – is aiming to tackle the issue of on-street grooming through the launch of major new initiative. The Community Alliance Against Sexual Exploitation' (CAASE) was launched in Bradford on Friday to meet head on communal challenges raised by child sexual exploitation of vulnerable young girls and women.

It is being supported by organisations such as the Muslim Council of Britain, the Christian Forum, Victim Support, the Church of England and National Association for People Abused in Childhood.

For Julie Siddiqi, executive director of the Islamic Society of Britain, it is vital that the Muslim community takes an 'overdue' leadership role in this sensitive issue.

She said: "It is important both for the wider community to see Muslims involved with others in this issue but also for Muslims to see that people from our own community are talking about it.

"I think we are only really as a country starting to get to grips with the issue this year. There is no doubt there has been a media spotlight put on it, sometimes in a sensational way, but at the same time this issue is real."

  
*I find it so upsetting that girls as young as 14 and 15 can become involved in this and are so cleverly manipulated that they come to think it's normal*  


Julie says the media portrayal of Asian men preying on white girls does not do justice to the complex picture of abuse, much of which takes place within the family. And for her the CAASE campaign has a personal resonance.

"I have a 15-year-old daughter and the thought of it – I can't get my head round what these girls have been through. As a mother I find it so upsetting that girls as young as 14 and 15 can become involved in this and are so cleverly manipulated that they come to think it's normal. Sometimes they would refer to them a 'boyfriend', which shows the level of manipulation."

Julie says that the issue of street grooming is a very sensitive one for the Muslim community it address, but that it is time to take on leadership.

This is echoed by Shaykh Ibrahim Mogra, Assistant Secretary General of the Muslim Council of Britain, who says: "This is an appalling and abhorrent kind of behaviour which is totally unacceptable regardless of race or religion. Some of those perpetrators who have recently been convicted happen to be from the Muslim community, so we need to be at the very front of the voice that is condemning this.

"It is important that leaders of religious communities speak out against this deplorable and abhorrent behaviour by adults toward vulnerable."

CAASE aims to bring together all different faith groups at a grassroots level to address the issue, alongside professionals such as child protection services, local authorities, schools, and the police.

It is this mix of different faiths and formal and informal bodies which is the correct focus and will

yield the best results, says Nick Lowles of HOPE not hate.

"The evil that is abuse happens across all areas of society. This is not an issue of race or religion. We want to encourage all our partners to help us remove the veils of secrecy and control that allow abuse to flourish. We also need to ensure that the media, and far-right groups, do not promote an anti-Muslim agenda over so-called 'grooming' trials either.

"HOPE not hate will focus on busting myths that groups such as the EDL and BNP like to promote in their quest for hate and division."

On a practical level, CAASE will begin an awareness-raising campaign across communities to encourage reporting of grooming and help vulnerable young people who find themselves caught up in such situations.

Street grooming can include exploiting a child for sexual purposes, involving gaining their trust through presents, alcohol or drugs; trafficking children for sexual purposes within the UK; and controlling a child through psychological means; and paying or exchanging goods for sex. In a much-publicised case in Rochdale last year, nine members of a gang involved in grooming were jailed for a total of 77 years. They lured vulnerable girls off the street with promises of free food and alcohol.

The initiative – believed to be the first of its kind – will also produce training kits which will include 'myth-busting' factsheets about abuse specifically to counter propaganda put out by far right and extremists groups who want to exploit the issue for their own political ends.

It will also help to foster a cross-community response to on-street grooming, which is part of the recognition that abuse and child





Angela Sinfield explains how grooming affected her and her family

sexual exploitation can occur in all backgrounds and all communities. To this end, CAASE will set up local grassroots groups where on-street grooming is perceived to be an issue. As well as raising awareness of the problem they will report alleged incidents to the authorities and promote the work of child protecting agencies as part of a 'zero tolerance' approach to grooming.

As Julie Siddiqi says: "There are few crimes more horrific than the sexual exploitation of young women: these girls have been let down by everyone I have been sickened reading about these cases. There should be no excuse, no hiding place, for those who perpetrate such crimes."

One innovative idea is to develop young leaders who can take the campaign against street grooming into their communities and help break down misconceptions and be part of a cross-community dialogue.

Julie added: "Everyone talks anecdotally about the issue and a lot of people say more abuse is carried out by white males, but that does not really deal with the issue. I have no doubt there is some sort of pattern in this."

"But to make it into Asian men grooming white girls is not an answer. The far right have been campaigning on this and they call Muslim men 'paedos' based on this type of stuff. This is what

they have been doing for the past couple of years, saying 'you don't want a mosque built in your neighbourhood because of this.'

The fact that some grooming cases in the past have been dealt with badly by the police and other authorities, according to Julie, means there is an even greater need for communities to work together in the future.

Community activist Paul Meszaros, who is working with Bradford Council of Mosques to develop a pilot project in Bradford, said the issue of street grooming dated back some years and had been used by far right groups to "demonise" the Muslim community, pointing to the campaign run in Keighley by BNP leader Nick Griffin.

"We've got a lot of experience of taking up these arguments. Grooming is not about race or religion but about child protection, that's the central

argument. That's as true today as it was in 2003," he said.

"It has got a much higher profile now. There was some reluctance from the authorities to admit it was going on, but now you can see it's a nationwide phenomenon."

"This initiative is all about communities coming together to raise awareness on the issue. We are looking for conversations that exist within and between communities with everyone working together to make sure children are protected – particularly vulnerable children – whichever community they come from."

But Paul said that to succeed people from all sectors of the community had to face up to what was going on in their neighbourhood.

"There have to be some grown-up discussions about the kinds of attitudes that might lead to some people treating children this way. What we also need to do is inoculate ourselves against the lies and deceit of the far right who try to use the issue in to their own advantage. The way in which we do this is by bringing communities together to warn against the dangers of racism and intolerance."

At the launch of CAASE on Friday 10 May, there were speakers from the Bradford Council of Mosques, the Bishop of Bradford, West Yorkshire Police and Victim Support.



*For more information  
visit [www.caase.org.uk](http://www.caase.org.uk)*



# Honouring the brave, remembering the righteous and never forgetting the horror





by Ruth Smeeth

LAST MONTH MARKED the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, when the inhabitants of the Ghetto began their long and extremely brave campaign of resistance against the Nazi's horrendous efforts to close the Ghetto and move the Jewish community to the death camps. It seems every month we are marking a significant anniversary from one of the darkest periods of world history. While we can, and should, never forget the victims of the Holocaust or the evils of the Nazis, we should also celebrate those who were brave enough to intervene and save lives.

On 15 April the British Government did just that, by recognising and rewarding the families of British Heroes of the Holocaust, those people who were brave enough to raise their head above the parapet and risk their own lives to save the lives of strangers.

The British Heroes of the Holocaust award is equivalent to a state honour and was first awarded in 2010 to 25 recipients. The award was introduced after a campaign by the Holocaust Educational Trust to recognise British citizens who had gone beyond the call of duty to save Jews during the

Holocaust. It was subsequently expanded to include those who saved other persecuted groups such as the Roma/Sinti, homosexuals and political opponents of Hitler.

This year the government recognised nine Brits for their tremendous efforts during the Second World War.

**Rabbi Dr Solomon Schonfeld**

– Rabbi Schonfeld saved hundreds of Jews from the camps by acquiring visas which allowed them to escape the Nazis. He personally escorted over 250 'Kindertransport' from Vienna in 1938 and on his return to England worked tirelessly to support and help them integrate into society.

**Lena Lakomy** – Lena, a Jewish woman, had the good fortune of Aryan features and was classified as Polish upon her arrival at Auschwitz and appointed as a nurse at the death camp. This position enabled her to save the life of a young Jewish woman, Hela Frank.

**Robert Townsend Smallbones** –

RT Smallbones was the Consul-General in Frankfurt from 1932 until 1939. He worked day and night to ensure Jewish families were given visas, a valuable document which could even

ensure their release from a concentration camp. His actions saved innumerable people and he ensured that the government was informed about the true atrocities of the Nazis as early as 1933.

**Arthur Ernest Dowden** – Arthur Dowden was Robert Smallbones' deputy in Frankfurt, supported his humanitarian efforts and was known for distributing food in Jewish areas in the days following Kristallnacht, when Jews were prohibited from buying food for nine days, going through the streets with food in his car, to feed those in want.

The final five recipients of the British Heroes of the Holocaust are five of the ten British prisoners of war who saved Sara Rigler (see insert panel for more details).

**Allan Edwards**

**Roger Letchford**

**Tommy Noble**

**Harold 'Bill' Scruton**

**Stanley Wells**

All these people were both brave and fearless and we owe them a huge debt of gratitude – we thank them and their families for their extraordinary bravery.

THIS IS AN EXTRAORDINARY story of how a group of British prisoners of war saved the life of a 16-year-old girl. Sarah Matuson (later Hannah Sarah Rigler) was among the inmates of Stutthof concentration camp who in January 1945 were taken on a death march headed to the Baltic coast. The group of 1,200 women, including her sister, Hannah and mother Gita, were staggering in the snow, dressed in rags, with only wooden clogs on their feet, with no food and subjected to regular heavy blows from the SS guards. Hundreds of women perished on the way and only about 300 reached the village of Gross Golmkau (Golebiewo in Polish), 30km south of Gdansk.

Sarah's family was from Lithuania. Sarah's father was arrested with a group of other Jews soon after the German occupation in June 1941. He was never seen again. The mother and two daughters were forced into the Shavli ghetto. Despite the difficult conditions and the continued killing, they managed to survive until summer 1944, when they were taken with the remaining Jews to the Stutthof concentration camp. As

the Soviet army approached, they were taken on the death march

Seeing the hopelessness of their situation, Sarah's mother pleaded with her daughter to try and escape. It was a painful decision to leave, but Sarah decided to try and find some food for them. She succeeded to escape a line of prisoners unnoticed and found refuge in a barn where she collapsed.

She was found by a group of British prisoners of war, including Stan Wells. He belonged to a group of POWs who had been captured in 1940 in France and interned in a camp close to the Baltic coast. Finding Sarah starved and totally exhausted, Wells gave her some food and wrapped her in an army coat. Shocked by her poor physical condition, they decided to help her. They smuggled Sarah into their prisoner of war camp – Stalag 20B in Gross-Golmkau – where they hid her in a hayloft and took turns in caring for her. They brought food, tended her frostbite, applied paraffin to her hair against lice, and nursed her back to health. The danger of discovery was great: just outside their living quarters was a police station. The horses used



Sarah Hanna Rigler reunited with her rescuers in London in 1972

by the police were housed in the very same barn and Sarah was hidden in the hayloft.

But soon the British POWs were to be moved. On the eve of their evacuation into Germany, Sarah's benefactors arranged for a local woman to take care of her until the Red Army arrived.

Sarah was the only survivor of her family. She eventually settled in the United States and in memory of her sister added the name Hannah to her own. She finally located her rescuers 25 years after the end of the war.



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